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London Review
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Clinton takes fight to his accusers

Martin Kettle and Ed Vulliamy in Washington

AN ANGRY Bill Clinton on Monday dared his accusers to do their worst, challenging them to prove their allegations of sexual misconduct or back off. Taking the offensive after several days of stunned silence over the swirling claims that he seduced Monica Lewinsky, a 24-year-old former White House intern, and then encouraged her to lie about their alleged affair, Mr Clinton delivered a terse and powerful denial.

But in another dramatic development on Monday, Mrs Lewinsky's lawyer emerged from a day-long meeting with his client and the special investigator, Kenneth Starr, with an announcement that would deny the president and retract her denial of an affair.

Lewinsky's team has told Mr Starr she would accept a plea deal on oath in exchange for immunity from prosecution for perjury. That

story is now in Mr Starr's hands, with a formal offer to strike the deal. Her lawyer, William Ginsburg, emerged from his meeting to catch the White House by surprise. He said that Ms Lewinsky had made a "complete proffer" - or summary of what she would say to a grand jury - to Mr Starr, and that "he has indicated he will consider it". The ball is totally in Starr's court.

A grand jury was due to hear testimony from Ms Lewinsky on Tuesday to Mr Starr, and that "he has indicated he will consider it". The ball is totally in Starr's court.

Earlier, the president, live on television, had unequivocally denied any affair. "I want you to listen to me, I'm going to say this again," Mr Clinton, with his wife Hillary at his side, told an invited White House audience. "I did not have a sexual relationship with that woman, Miss Lewinsky. I never told anybody to lie, not a single time, never. These allegations are false and I need to go back to work for the American people."

Mr Clinton briefly looked close to tears as he emphasised every word of his short statement with a job of the finger. The president allowed no questions from reporters and offered no details. White House sources said it could be weeks before Mr Clinton gives any details, confirming signs that the president has decided to play a long game. The burden of proof is now on his accusers, led by Mr Starr.

In a move which emphasised the Clinton camp's apparent determination to try to shake out the high ground, the president's lawyer, Bob

The Pen is mightier than the Sword...



Bennett, filed an application in Little Rock, Arkansas, to have the date of Paula Jones's civil law sexual harassment suit against the president brought forward from its May 27 start.

Mr Bennett said that the move was necessary because the gagging order imposed on witnesses was being undermined, and because the supreme court's confidence in a ruling last year "that this case could proceed without undue distraction to the nation's business" was unfounded.

Mrs Clinton underlined her central role in the strategy by fronting Monday's White House "media event". She gave television interviews on ABC and NBC on Tuesday, stoutly defending her husband, hours before Mr Clinton was due to give his State of the Union speech before both Houses of Congress in Washington.

A Gallup poll and one for ABC showed Mr Clinton's approval rating stable at 58 and 59 per cent respectively. But the Los Angeles Times had him as low as 48 per cent.

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Crazies of right go for kill

THEY communicate on the Internet, by fax and on shortwave radio. They fight their battles in the courtroom, not the polling station. For five years they have been convinced Bill Clinton is a liar, a cheat, a drug-dealer and even a murderer, writes Jonathan Freedland.

They have been dismissed as the Clinton Craze. But now the Encyclopaedia of Bill, huddled together on the far right of United States politics, smell blood.

That is certainly how defenders of the president see it. For them, these past few turbulent days represent the culmination of an extreme rightwing conspiracy to remove Mr Clinton from office.

Besides serial adultery, they believe he took cash bribes while governor of Arkansas; that he allowed the Mens airship in the west of the state to be used for cocaine shipments; that he has snorted coke and smoked dope inside the Oval Office; that he has paid off countless supporters and that his wife Hillary has enjoyed lesbian trysts with her longtime adviser, Susan Thomas.

Most striking is the chain, circulated on websites and in samizdat newsletters, that Mr Clinton and his henchmen are to blame for the murder of 56 associates or witnesses whose mistake was to know too much. At the centre of the Clinton Craze is the death in 1985 of the White House deputy counsel, Vince Foster. No conspiracy believed it was a simple suicide.

The key force in this anti-Clinton movement is the underground media that has gathered strength since the president took office, led by the bigmouth of talk radio, the ultra-conservative Rush Limbaugh.

Paula Jones is pressing her sexual harassment claim against the president - the case which brought Monica Lewinsky in light - through the Rader, Campbell law firm, specialists in the defence of violent anti-abortion protesters. And Ms Jones's legal bill is being paid by the Rutherford Foundation, a pressure group for Christian fundamentalism which is also funding the legal defence of a former member of the American Nazi party.

Drug company donates \$1.6bn to defeat tropical disease

Chris Mithili

ABRITISH company is to donate \$1.6 billion over the next 20 years to supply free drugs to a fifth of the world's population in a bid to wipe out the crippling tropical disease of elephantiasis. It is the biggest such donation by a British company.

The disease affects 120 million people, but some 1.1 billion are at risk of contracting it, and it is being spread in the new programme. A drug made by SmithKline Beecham (SKB) called albendazole is 90 per cent effective in combating the worm-like parasite that causes the illness if given in combination with other anti-parasitic drugs. Patients take one tablet a year over a five-to-five-year period to kill the parasite.

The disease, also known as lymphatic filariasis, causes huge swellings to the limbs and genitalia and damages internal organs such as the kidneys and lungs. Apart from the pain and suffering, the severe disfigurement it causes brings psychological problems. In some communities sufferers are shunned.

This illness also has enormous economic and social consequences, because of health bills and lost productivity. In India, where a third of sufferers live, elephantiasis is estimated to cost \$1.6 billion a year. In all, the condition affects 73 countries, in Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and South America.

In partnership with the World Health Organisation, SKB plans to give away some 6 billion tablets over the next 20 years to treat all

those at risk. The cost of the drugs alone is put at \$800 million, with a further \$800 million coming in distribution costs and health education programmes.

Karen Behrman, of the World Health Organisation, said that the hope was that by 2020, lymphatic filariasis would have been eliminated as a public health problem. "Even 10 years ago no one would have dared to believe lymphatic filariasis would become a target for elimination. We at WHO look forward to this day 20 years from now or earlier, when lymphatic filariasis joins smallpox as part of medical history."

Jan Lee-Hay, chief executive of SKB, said: "We will donate albendazole free until this dreadful disease is eliminated as a public health problem." James Hill, director of corporate affairs for SKB, said the com-

pany was donating the drug as part of its corporate philosophy to help communities in which it worked and traded. It was also seen as a more meaningful way to celebrate the millennium than building monuments.

The three drugs used to treat elephantiasis are out of patent and individually cost less than 15 cents each. Although SKB may lose turnover of some \$80 million a year over 20 years, this is seen as a small price to pay for the humanitarian boost it will garner.

The disease is caused by thread-like worms that lodge in the lymph system and release millions of microscopic larvae into the bloodstream. These can be picked up and passed on to others by mosquitoes. Albendazole kills or paralyses the adult worms, while the other two drugs attack the larvae.

Germany riddled with racism

Pope gives Cubans message of hope

Australia denies its colonial roots

Baby sues over mother's implant

Ted Hughes breaks his silence on Plath

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Republican hopes riding on Clinton



Washington diary

Martin Kettle

PARTICULARLY from outside the United States, it is hard to imagine why anyone should hate Bill Clinton. He is disappointed in him, perhaps. He is indifferent to him, maybe. But that his presidency has been inconsistent or anti-climatic, understandable. But hate him? For most foreign observers, and many Americans too, that isn't easy to believe.

Clinton, after all, always seems to please. He is the embodiment of pragmatic modern consensus politics, a man who appears to believe that all differences can be resolved and solutions found for every problem. He is an optimist. And, as the events of the past week show, he has to be.

That, though, is not the reason why a crucially important and highly visible segment of US political culture really hates Clinton. The militants and conspiracy theorists of the right — and even many mainstream Republicans — hate him because they think he is an historic interloper, the man who stole the White House from George Bush.

the man who should never have got his hands on Ronald Reagan's supposedly golden legacy. It is too crude to say simply that they hate the sixties, and that Clinton embodies everything they now detest; about the generation that would not fight the Vietnam war, but that is certainly a large part of it.

And hate him they do. That is why, from the moment that Clinton had the temerity to defeat an incumbent Republican president, the raggle-taggle of the American right have been out to get him. They would have been out to get anyone else in his position too, but Clinton's personal characteristics long ago transformed their irritation into an obsession, which is fanned by rightwing broadcasters such as Rush Limbaugh and sustained at all hours of the day and night on their astonishing range of Internet sites.

In one sense, therefore, last week was the moment that the right has been working and hoping for. For at last their elusive quarry has been run to earth. Between them, the Whitehouse Independent project Kenneth Starr, the Paula Jones sexual harassment campaign, a media assault and the president's apparently uncontrollable lust have finally combined to place Clinton's continued presidency in the hands of Monica Lewinsky. By last weekend, that president of the United States was cornered, and his future was dependent upon the deal that Starr is able to strike with Lewinsky's lawyer, William Ginsburg.

And yet one thing can be said with some confidence and so much fast-moving unpredictability. Whatever else happens in this drama, Clinton is most unlikely to become the only US president of the 20th century to be impeached. This is an irony, given the intensity of the hatred for Clinton on the right and the almost messianic determination of several of those involved in these matters to see him drenched out of the White House. It seems to fly in the face of the engagement of the rightwing Rutherford Institute in refuting the Jones case last year, or of the central role played in the Lewinsky case by the virginal New York "lenny agent" Lucianne Goldberg, who long ago splashed on George McGovern's doomed 1972 campaign and was paid for her work by Richard Nixon's re-election campaign which, like Clinton in one of the Lewinsky tapes, was also known as "Creep".

Amid many echoes of the Watergate years last week, it is common to encounter people shaking their heads at the possibility that Clinton might soon join Nixon as the presidential black sheep of the late 20th century. They need not worry.

The reason Clinton will not be impeached can be expressed in two words — Albert Gore. Impeachment may seem like a fitting aptitude to the long hounding of Clinton, and the Republicans may possess the necessary majorities in the House of Representatives to bring the proceedings and in the Senate to complete them, but the plain fact is that, under the US constitution, the impeachment of Clinton would simply hand the presidency to the vice-president. And since neither the sexual sleaze nor the alleged obstruction of justice that would have combined to bring Clinton down can in any sense be said to implicate Gore, the Republicans would simply be conferring the mantle of incumbency upon the man they have to beat in 2000 to regain the White House.

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perhaps explain the remarkable distance that even the most combatively anti-Clinton Republican strategists have put between themselves and any calls for the president to go. In an extraordinary week, few contributions were more remarkable than Ross Gribble's exceptionally cool injunction to his party to slow down, watch and wait upon events before jumping to any conclusions.

Indeed, it is striking that many of the suggestions of impeachment or resignation have come not from Republicans but Democrats. This is partly because many Democrats feel little loyalty to Clinton personally, believing that he has abandoned the policies and values of the party. But that is not the whole explanation for his lack of defence in reality the politicians who have envisaged the end of the Clinton presidency have been former allies, such as Dee Dee Myers, George Stephanopoulos and Al Gore.

Phillips is *per se* *non grata*, the first fleet is a dirty word, you don't want to know about the comets, and if you're British watch out. Bush a bit at sea. But in moves that some branded as a rewriting of history the traditional re-enactment of the landing was abandoned in favour of less controversial, if less colourful, defining moments in Australian history such as federation in 1901.

The authorities decided that images of British redcoat soldiers are no longer appropriate because they are not "inclusive". More so, the story is irrelevant to most migrants and offensive to many Aborigines, whose tribes were devastated by disease and an undeclared bush war, they say. There are even legends that the British soldiers were the ones to dump Australia Day, which some Aborigines call "Invasion Day" in favour of the date on which Australia will eventually dump the Queen as head of state.

Meanwhile Aborigines and their supporters held their annual survival concert at Bondi, and the Australian for Native Title group, which supports Aboriginal land rights, launched a national "Sorry Book" to give others the chance to record personal apologies for past wrongs done to indigenous people. The Museum of Sydney is running a competition "to design a flag that represents and unites all Australians".

Such events are symptomatic of the national mood of change that could come to a head with the Constitutional Convention in Canberra next week, which is expected to pave the way to republicanism.

The convention follows a voluntary postal ballot late last year in which the republican candidates scored 57 per cent of first-preference votes against the monarchists' 34 per cent. Despite the margin, the outcome is far from clear. Although 78 delegates were elected, the rest were appointed by the federal government and their voting preferences are not known.

The republican camp is also deeply divided on how far-reaching the reforms should be, what model of republic should be put forward, and how any future president should be elected — by the people or by the parliament.

Tan Lee named Young Australian of the Year last week, is a 20-year-old Vietnamese refugee who was honoured for her community work. She is a committed republican. So is Unsworth, whose father was from Lancashire. He was the Labour premier of New South Wales when Prince Charles and Princess Diana came to Sydney for the bicentennial celebrations. He believes that although Australians should be proud of their history they must also look to the future because of the increasing proportion of migrants in the population of 20 million.

"Everyone wants to celebrate a national day," he said. "Unfortunately for us, we are celebrating a day which for a very significant group in the community, the indigenous people, is a day of invasion. We have to come to terms with that."

But opera and jazz singer Marocho Barnabai said the transported convicts were just as much "victims of history as the blacks. I feel that one day Australia Day will include most people. I think a lot of people don't think it includes them at the moment," she said.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 1 1998

Australia fights battles of the past

Christopher Zinn in Sydney

THE HARBOUR was a spectacle with 70 all ships and fireworks displays for the Australia Day celebrations on Monday, but visitors would have been hard pressed to find any reference to the country's colonial and conflict era.

It was the 25th anniversary of the arrival from Britain of the 11 ships of the first fleet which, under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip, dropped anchor in Sydney Cove after 251 days at sea. But in moves that some branded as a rewriting of history the traditional re-enactment of the landing was abandoned in favour of less controversial, if less colourful, defining moments in Australian history such as federation in 1901.

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"Everyone wants to celebrate a national day," he said. "Unfortunately for us, we are celebrating a day which for a very significant group in the community, the indigenous people, is a day of invasion. We have to come to terms with that."

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"The day that we celebrate as Australia Day in my view should be the day that we establish this nation as a republic, as a free independent country in all respects with its own head of state," said the chairman of the New South Wales Australia Day Council, Barrie Unsworth. "Clearly, 26 January has outlived its purpose."

As a result the national holiday, which some say is just about "sausages (sausages) and flags", has become enmeshed in some of the thorniest issues current Australian life: multiculturalism, reconciliation with Aborigines and constitutional change.

The subtle rebranding of Australia Day began after the storm caused by the 1988 bicentennial re-enactment of the first fleet's voyage from Portsmouth to Sydney. Dr King, who is a direct descendant of an early governor, led the fleet into the harbour, despite official objections.

"What sort of generation are we going to produce in the schools year after year if we teach our kids that they should be ashamed of the way their own son was founded? Any nation which tries to rewrite its history is in for big trouble," he said.

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James Cook's legacy hangs like a shadow over an Australia seeking reconciliation

competition "to design a flag that represents and unites all Australians".

Such events are symptomatic of the national mood of change that could come to a head with the Constitutional Convention in Canberra next week, which is expected to pave the way to republicanism.

The convention follows a voluntary postal ballot late last year in which the republican candidates scored 57 per cent of first-preference votes against the monarchists' 34 per cent. Despite the margin, the outcome is far from clear. Although 78 delegates were elected, the rest were appointed by the federal government and their voting preferences are not known.

The republican camp is also deeply divided on how far-reaching the reforms should be, what model of republic should be put forward, and how any future president should be elected — by the people or by the parliament.

Tan Lee named Young Australian of the Year last week, is a 20-year-old Vietnamese refugee who was honoured for her community work. She is a committed republican. So is Unsworth, whose father was from Lancashire. He was the Labour premier of New South Wales when Prince Charles and Princess Diana came to Sydney for the bicentennial celebrations. He believes that although Australians should be proud of their history they must also look to the future because of the increasing proportion of migrants in the population of 20 million.

"Everyone wants to celebrate a national day," he said. "Unfortunately for us, we are celebrating a day which for a very significant group in the community, the indigenous people, is a day of invasion. We have to come to terms with that."

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In foreign policy, the EU speaks as 15



Europe this week

Martin Walker

THOSE IN Washington who have expressed the wish — like the member states who solemnly signed the Amsterdam treaty last year — that the European Union develop a common foreign and security policy, may have had second thoughts last week. The European Commission endorsed a controversial new policy drafted by its vice-president and commissioner for Mediterranean affairs, Manuel Marín.

Mr Marín has been busy. No sooner had he launched his blunt paper on the Middle East peace process, which demanded an

equal place at all talks with the United States and warned that EU aid would end unless Israel stopped blockading the Palestinian economy — than he flew off to Algeria with the "Troika". The Troika comprises the foreign ministers of the past, present and next EU countries to hold the presidency of the European Council, which Britain currently chairs.

The Troika's first visit with Britain in the driver's seat was little more than a chance to show the EU flag and express concern. There was little opportunity for the EU to do anything that was solemnly established as one of Europe's guiding principles in the Amsterdam treaty. In Iraq, Britain sticks loyally by Washington's insistence on maintaining the UN sanctions, and France's traditional concern for a former colony that is as important source of natural gas, Europe's lack of influence over policies to stop the Algerian blockade is also apparent. Europe dreads the prospect of an Islamic fundamentalist neighbour, and after the latest force provoked by fewer than 2,000 Kurdish separatists, it is even more nervous of a possible flood of Muslim refugees.

But Europe's fear of unrest among its neighbours appears to be in almost inverse proportion to the EU's ability to do anything about it, largely because a common European foreign policy remains almost

a contradiction in terms. The first time it was tried, amid sonorous French statements that "the hour of Europe is at hand", was the utterly disastrous attempt to stop the Balkan war from breaking out, and then from getting out of hand. Europe's failure was then crudely emphasised when the US warmly determined the arena to exercise its traditional leadership.

Since then, it has not been easy to find any corroborating evidence of that common foreign and security policy that was solemnly established as one of Europe's guiding principles in the Amsterdam treaty. In Iraq, Britain sticks loyally by Washington's insistence on maintaining the UN sanctions, and France's traditional concern for a former colony that is as important source of natural gas, Europe's lack of influence over policies to stop the Algerian blockade is also apparent. Europe dreads the prospect of an Islamic fundamentalist neighbour, and after the latest force provoked by fewer than 2,000 Kurdish separatists, it is even more nervous of a possible flood of Muslim refugees.

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And Britain still acts as though the cardinal principle of foreign policy is to buttress the Atlantic alliance. But the divisions stem also from the long-standing ties and interests of nation states. In the Balkan crisis, German partially for Croats and the Anglo-French sensibility to Serbia dated back to a pre-1914 Europe.

The strongest tie holding EU diplomacy together is money. By far the world's biggest aid donor, more than \$6.5 billion annually, Europe is also by far the biggest benefactor of the peace process in Bosnia and the Middle East, and of aid and investment to Russia and eastern Europe. And with \$360 billion of standing, its banks have more exposure to the current Asian financial crisis than Japanese and US banks together.

This brings us to Mr Marín's Middle East plan. As the supplier of more than half of all aid funds to the Palestinians since the 1993 Washington donors' conference, the EU is throwing down a challenge to both Israel and the US by its threat to withhold aid, which is likely to buttress Israeli claims that the EU is partial to the Arab side.

Mr Marín argued that the failure of the Israel-Palestine talks was due to the "contaminating" of the EU's other objectives in the region, undermining its EU-Middle East agreements and its policy dialogue with North African countries. Moreover

the EU's efforts to develop the Palestinian economy had been frustrated by the failure of a political settlement and by Israeli security measures that "all Palestinian economic indicators point to a deep deterioration of living standards with per capita GDP down by over one-third".

The result was "widespread international donor fatigue". As it was by the biggest donor, the Commission proposed a series of conditions to be met before the EU agreed to continue its aid programme. The most controversial condition is for an end to the security measures imposed by Israel to seal off Palestinian territories, along with a demand that the Palestinians must have open trade access to the outside world, including Israel.

The EU's latest bid for a big role in the Middle East is a trouble with national rules. This puts Britain in an awkward position, as current holders of the EU presidency. British officials suggested that the EU should "re-examine" its aid to the Palestinians, and that the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, should lead a mission to the region.

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King cotton reaps a tragic harvest in Indian fields

Suzanne Goldenberg in Warangal district

THE women of the village held their vigil by the corpse — piled in boxes wrapped in rough cotton — on a bed of straw — and watched the sun drying. The funeral would begin at dusk.

The man from the state agriculture department took the measure of the dead man's existence on a scrap of paper. Velkash Golconda, of Kargali village, a farmer in this mid-50s whose wife left a son to be educated, a beautiful daughter to be married, Golconda was the 25th cotton farmer to commit suicide in Warangal district in the past two months. In Andhra Pradesh state, the total is more than 50. Like most others, he died a slow, agonising death after swallowing pesticide.

But the real killer was cotton. Introduced 20 years ago to Warangal, the cash crop promised profits so high that farmers called it "white gold". More than 250,000 acres in Warangal are now under cotton, nearly a quarter of all the arable land. Though most holdings are two or three acres, they represent the marginal farmers' hopes of a better life.

But in the past four years cotton has lost its lustre. Unlike tobacco, cotton has no government price support. Increased yields drove prices down and the crop was prone to disease and drought.

They used fertilisers and pesticides but never had enough. More and more, the pesticides on the market were of dubious quality. The interest rates of banks as high as 30 per cent. The way of life was already poor when cotton came. In November, when cotton is at its peak, farmers are at their most desperate. Cotton is a cash crop. Farmers are not fortified by the

caterpillars that they sprayed their fields with toxic chemicals every other day, instead of the two recommended times a season. They also got their wives and children in roll pellets of the chemical Methomyl into jaggery and rice bran to make them more enticing to the insects. The farmers, most of them illiterate, used no protective clothing or other safety measures.

J. Jagannath Rao, the research station director, said that more than 200,000 litres of Methomyl had been sold in the district since November. The average farmer had spent about 6,000 rupees an acre on it. It did not work. The caterpillars became resistant and, when they had eaten the cotton, they attacked pulses and vegetables, leaving farmers with the prospect of no income at all.

But for the forthcoming general elections, the cotton suicides would probably have gone unremarked. The state government, led by Chandrababu Naidu, has been stung by the criticism that it has left the farmers in their despair. In December, Mr Naidu promised 10,000 rupees to each dead man's family. He critics say that he has merely turned the farmers' misery into election fodder.

Recently the government said it was seeking for more funds from New Delhi to add to the 400 million rupees it has allocated for spraying to ward off a new outbreak of pest, to keep farmers alert until heavy rains in March.

But Dr Rao believes that the "caterpillars" could have been contained if the government had intervened earlier, by teaching farmers non-chemical pest-control methods and by persuading them to diversify. In their despair, farmers expect further devastation, can envisage livelihood for local farmers entirely without cotton. "Cotton has to stay... but farmers have to change their way of cultivating," he said.

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Finally, there is the matter of proportion. US voters have twice elected Clinton to the White House, knowing him to be no chubroy. Marital fidelity is not part of the constitution's job description. And while naturally lapsing into the scandal, US voters show signs of becoming less puritan and more — well, more like the rest of the world. Clinton is a private and public life. Above all, impeachment is a deadly serious matter, best reserved for deadly serious offences. Nixon was caught with tape-recorded evidence proving him to be covering up a political crime, trying to squash with bribes evidence tying White House employees to the equally suspect but far less Democratic offices in election year. That was the Nixon case. Clinton's case is one of sheer infidelity, as established by John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, may be as gross as it is foolish. But it is not the stuff of impeachment.

Scourge of racism in Germany

IN THE dying days of the German Democratic Republic, the vast demonstrations that swept across the communist leadership seemed an unalloyed good. Yet even then there were voices warning that alongside the liberals, the socialists, and the Christians on the streets were those moved by a nationalism that inclined to racism, which had not only defied the postwar ban on racism, and which regretted the end of the republic in 1945. It is these voices that are now being heard as the German people debate whether traditions should survive in a Russian-dominated half-state. The GDR had no experience to compare with an economically successful Federal Republic, and full integration as a valued partner into the Western world and close exposure to the pluralist and multi-ethnic world of the non-communist countries.

Ne-Nazism had been the slogan of the 1960s, but youth protest and provocation that the communist authorities had tried in vain to suppress. What had

Western Germany is not exempt from these developments. An unpleasant chemistry between the far right in the two halves of Germany has seen racist gangs travelling east to stir up trouble, and the rightist German groups taking heart at the thought of leading a neo-Nazi movement. The defence minister, Hans Rühse, has said that the defence ministry will not enquire into neo-Nazi incidents in the army. Worse than neo-Nazism and the dribble of neo-Nazi incidents in the west is the fact that West Germans who would not conclusively embrace racist or far right ideas seem ready to work themselves up into an anti-Semitic frenzy at the thought of the resurgence of the recent uproar over Kurda shows. What is happening in both halves of Germany in an election year is that the malignant political agenda is being affected by racist and extremist ideas. A government that sees itself as a leader in Europe surely has a duty to ensure that the neo-Nazi movement, whether in the crude protest form they take in the east or the more subtle variants seen in the west,

Miners deserve full compensation

THE NEWSRELEASE image of cheerful British miners with smudged faces doing their bit for the post-war effort had a really dark side to it. Not only was coal-mining one of the most dangerous industries for accidents, but the coal dust causing respiratory problems was a health risk for miners. Turner finally recognised that when coal miners have worked for years at the pit face and then contract emphysema or chronic bronchitis, the two events are probably related. He also concluded that British Coal failed to take sufficient measures to protect the health of the staff using the technology for more than 20 years. The Government to its credit has said it will deal promptly with all valid claims. But after years of official foot-dragging influenced by political hostility to the miners and their industry from successive governments, the industry has to come very late to the rescue. The miners' health problems come very late, and for many, tragically too late.

In 1974 a compensation scheme was first announced for pneumoconiosis, the lung disease caused by larger particles of dust. Since then there have been a number of other schemes for compensation. Finer dust fractions can also cause serious damage to the lung, but this was finally accepted in 1983 in a move to tighten opposition to a new round of litigation. The compensation of pneumoconiosis applicants was successful. The disability criteria were not too high and payment was not backdated. When former miners in depauperation began to resort to the courts, British Coal had the nerve to blame them for their own misdeeds.

Last week's decision opens the door to a series of awards that may eventually exceed the sum received by the privatisation of British Coal. The state will be liable for the losses of the companies that were the product of privatisation from the private companies that acquired the assets. Britain can and should afford to do this. The eminders come from areas already devastated by the closure of pits. The state has a duty to help communities into zones of despair. Politicians dived while natural causes reduced the claimants' numbers. Now that the test case has been won, a Labour Government must not allow the state to be taken to task for its failure to fall lower to the ground.

Iran caught up in an endless battle of wills

At the time, the Iranian upheaval was compared to the French and Russian revolutions. Two decades later it looks more like a convulsion in Iran's own recent past, specifically the Islamic model of 1979. But the international implications of that convulsion were nevertheless huge. The fact that a Shia revolution gave a push to the development of Sunni Islamism in the Arab world was probably no less important than the way in which it rearranged the international politics of the Middle East. Two Gulf wars came out of it, for Saddam Hussein would almost certainly not have attacked Kuwait had there not been a Shia revolution so much at odds, and he might not

[illegible]

The most striking thing about Iran after 20 years is how little the issues have changed. At home, Iran still falls short of any synthesis between the Islamic and the modern worlds, while managing to maintain, it must be said, a system that has a genuine democratic dimension. Abroad, it has yet to find any middle way in the use of force, and it has no friends, or even with most of its neighbours, while the problem with Iraq cannot be solved until Saddam has gone.

Iran's politics is a game of cat and mouse between the clerics and the bourgeoisie, and it is difficult to try to meet the needs of a population that wants a whole range of "modern" things, from more free press to better TV, and from faster cars to better housing. The Islamic Revolution, which has created opportunities for women, exhibits the same contradictions. The Iranian constitutional gridlock, which can set a popularly elected president against the clerical leadership, or a cleric against a parliament, is also unchanged, as is the existence of a range of centres of power within the government.

You cannot have devised a constitution or political system better if, your aim had been to ensure that nothing was ever resolved, or that the country would be torn apart by a religious division into the far future.

On the international scene, the Islamic Revolution has been a disaster for almost all Iranian politics after the revolution as well as before. The centre is so far, never managed to put together a strategy to deal with the Islamic Revolution, the religious leadership, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, which is most visible in foreign affairs.

Occasionally, Tehran has been against the revolutionary agenda, but in the last November the great crowds captured the centre of the capital to celebrate the end of the soccer team's quarter-final defeat by the Iranian police force. The streets ran with blood and as men and women, some without their head scarves, moved freely. There are two kinds of freedom in Iran, one for the masses, one for the government's consent of most middle- and particularly of most middle-class people, and the other, the freedom of the religious and some times arcane and sometimes extreme, of a different kind of freedom, of different dimensions within the religious-political establishment. They are very loosely connected. The disconnectedness is as grave as it was in the 1970s, and it is the cause of the Islamic Revolution. Yet its rulers might profit again from the tide of the year of the Shah.

"The Priest and the King" by David Harvey, published by IB Tauris.

SATURDAY WEEKLY
 February 1 1998

The Washington Post

With Clinton, His Past Is Ever Present

on aides to shield him from public scrutiny of private behavior.

It is undeniable that Clinton has had an active extramarital sex life since he married his wife in 1975 — Clinton himself has admitted as much, and friends have indirectly

David Meraniss is the author of *First in His Class: The Biography of Bill Clinton*.

Kaczynski Admits He Is Unabomber

ever received any funds for his writings, mementos or interviews.

David Meserian is the author of *First In His Class: The Biography of Bill Clinton*.

Myths and Metaphors of the Vietnam War

Robert Anderson

VIETNAM SHADOWS
The War, Its Ghosts and Its Legacy
By Arnold R. Isaacs
Joanne Hopkins. 244 pp. \$25.95

IN HIS chapter recounting the shattered courage to rescue phantom prisoners of war from Vietnam, Arnold Isaacs observes that either "manipulation or political flabbiness" could explain the POW campaign's powerful hold on the national psyche. Rather, he writes, "it was some vital piece of America's vision of itself — trust, self-confidence, social order, belief in the benevolence and ordained success of American power — which had disappeared in the mountain mist and vintaged jungles of Vietnam, and which so many Americans

wanted so desperately to get back." As this incisive volume makes clear, in the mental geography of America, Vietnam now lies forever in ambush. Isaacs, a former American correspondent whose powerful chronicle of the horrific endgame in Indochina, Without Honor, is to be commended to posterity, here does a valiant job of identifying those ambush sites. Now a professor who teaches the history of the war at Towson State University, he also seeks to explain to later generations why the legacy of Vietnam casts its "long shadow."

Vietnam Shadows addresses the war's myths and metaphors. Written with exemplary detachment for one who was witness to some of the blood baths, it covers a broad range of subjects in what amounts to an extended essay. Here the Vietnam

of syndromes, MIA myths, noble causes and ignoble casualties receives critical scrutiny, while the America of veterans, the Vietnam generation, and the new Americans from Southeast Asia come into trenchant focus.

What Isaacs lacks in strategy he makes up for in savvy and sensibility. He is a man on a mission, a one-man truth squad, out to do battle with the business that would exploit the war for ideological gain. Hence he takes on both the right and left and their respective "fables" about the war.

The military wasn't allowed to win in Vietnam? He cites the smoking gun, namely that the American public "footed more than \$150 billion in war costs and gave their military forces the greatest conventional destructive power and the most advanced and expensive technology

ever used in the history of war," not to mention "plenty of time to justify those sacrifices with a victory." The anti-war movement won its war against the war? A "sentimental fable." The war in retrospect an noble cause? "Reagan's storybook version of history." Nor is Isaacs a friend of professors who teach their credulous students "perpetual mythologies." Indeed, he scores the academy for its "American-centered" lessons, for turning the "war that actually took place" into an "event that occurred chiefly in our own imaginations."

Of course nothing festered those imaginations more than the search for MIAs or the elation of the war to justify or rule out the other, later uses of military force (depending on whether you approached it from the right or the left). Isaacs recounts those usages in the book's longest, and best, chapters. In doing so, he sheds his detachment long enough to vent his wrath on a "country

grown so childlike that it clung to any comforting fiction, no matter how implausible, instead of facing the uncertainties of the human condition and the painful truths of its own past." Finally, Vietnam Shadows invites us to heed the lesson of Vietnam, the real Vietnam, the land of "ghosts" that Isaacs leaves out of an overview of its disastrous course since 1975. As attested by the Apocalypse Now bar in Saigon, demographics and demarcation have all but obliterated the past. Likewise, bereft of a stake in the psychodrama, the multicultural generation grown up since 1975 in America has brought the war to its ultimate, absurd conclusion.

This book finds America still in the dark about its recent past, still deaf to its own shadow. Isaacs may not have uncovered the legacy with large, but Vietnam Shadows is journalism of the highest caliber.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
February 1 1996

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February 1 1996

Le Monde

Russia's PM bounces back to the top

Joseph Blith in Moscow

THE Russian prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, must be savouring his revenge. After months of having to listen to yelps being heaped on the so-called "young reformers" in the government — Boris Nemtsov, aged 38, and Anatoly Chubais, aged 42 — Chernomyrdin, "old" at 59, was given a heart-warming reception by President Boris Yeltsin at the Kremlin on January 19.

Although the two men who now symbolise the neoliberal, new-look Russia were also present, Yeltsin made it clear he was bringing down the curtain on the era of simplistic reformist solutions, and paid tribute to Chernomyrdin's experience.

Yeltsin had just returned from a three-week spell in hospital. His recent health problems seem to have made the 66-year-old president a more cautious political animal. He transferred various powers from Nemtsov and Chubais to Chernomyrdin, thus implicitly confirming that the prime minister is one of his potential successors or at least a contender.

Up to that moment the unofficial "he" had been Nemtsov, a man seen as capable of raising the moral standards of Russian capitalism. Yeltsin humiliated Chernomyrdin last March when he promoted Nemtsov and Chubais. "Don't worry, they won't intrigue against me," he quipped at the time, causing the media to speculate that the ageing apparition might soon be for the chop.

But by the autumn it had become clear that the "young reformers" who risked being not a job. In November Chubais lost a place in the Ministry of Finance, and Nemtsov the energy ministry. Since then they both continued to supervise those two key ministries in their capacity as deputy prime ministers. This has no longer been the case since Jan-



Viktor Chernomyrdin (right) with the Duma's speaker, Gennady Seleznev. President Yeltsin has implicitly confirmed the Russian prime minister as his successor.

ary 18, when Chernomyrdin announced that the government was to be reorganised.

The new energy and finance ministers now answer directly to the president. This, according to the daily newspaper *Izvestia*, has made Chernomyrdin "almost as powerful a figure as the president, with the latter's blessing."

Some media pundits believe that Yeltsin and his new entourage, under the influence of bankers who are Chubais's friends, have decided that Chernomyrdin should shoulder an increasing share of the president's responsibilities. There is no doubt that Yeltsin is now a weak man, but his shrewdly chosen, a snow storm prompted an opposition newspaper to suggest that he looked like "an old man in his second childhood". Yeltsin's trip

to Italy is still on, but a visit to India has been cancelled.

The crunch will come with the president's annual speech to parliament in late February or early March. In an initial draft of the speech, obtained by the reformist newspaper *Russkaya Federatsiya*, Yeltsin is sarcastic about the reformers, mocking for example their pride in having achieved higher than forecast revenues from privatisation and pointing out that "what has been sold cannot be sold a second time."

A more predictable charge, however, seems to have been omitted from the speech and was left unexploited by the two TV channels controlled by bankers who have been campaigning against Chubais and Nemtsov for months: their failure to keep their promise to let govern-

ment employees have all their pay arrears by the end of 1997.

The two men say they have fulfilled their part of the deal and accuse local authorities of misappropriating federal funds sent out to the regions for that purpose. But unpaid teachers and doctors are surely entitled to expect the government to ensure its word is obeyed throughout the country.

If Yeltsin is reluctant to make an issue of this point, it is because he still wants to use his young ministers. Were there to be even stronger pressure from bankers and other lobbies opposed to the reforms of Nemtsov and Chubais, Yeltsin could always sacrifice one of them at the next session of the government's annual report on its activities, due to be held in February. (January 20)

Alien Attraction

Eline Showalter

THE THREAT
The Secret Alien Agenda
By David M. Jacobs
Simon & Schuster. 287 pp. \$23

FACES OF THE VISITORS
An Illustrated Reference to Alien Contact
By Kevin Randle and Russ Eassey
Simon & Schuster. 306 pp. \$12

MILLENNIUM, MESSIAHS, AND MAYHEM
Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements
Edited by Thomas Robbins and Susan J. Palmer
Routledge. 334 pp. Paperback, \$18.95

UFO CRASH AT ROSWELL
The Genesis of a Modern Myth
By Benson Saler, Charles A. Ziegler, and Charles E. Moore
Smithsonian. 198 pp. \$24.95

IN 1898, in *War Of The Worlds*, H.G. Wells played masterfully on his culture's *vis à vis* anxiety with a story of telepathic, blood-sucking Martians landing in suburban London to invade a world they regard as crowded by "inferior animals." In the 1930s, Orson Welles terrified New Jersey with his radio adaptation of the story. Now David M. Jacobs, a professor of history and theology at Temple University, carries on the tradition, but he doesn't think it's fiction.

In *The Threat*, Jacobs expounds his view that a race of alien pod people is about to take over the earth. For decades, he explains, extraterrestrial beings have been carrying out a sustained program of abductions, sperm collection, alien harvesting, and alien-human crossbreeding. "At the heart of the reproductive agenda," he writes, "is the Breeding Program, using 'autotrophic gestation' culture" to look like brown paper bags to impregnate menopausal women.

Preposterous as Jacobs's theory sounds — and surely millennialist racial anxieties of intermarriage, immigration, artificial insemination and genetic engineering have something to do with his vision — he presents it with serious intent, and undoubtedly many readers will believe him. Indeed, recent surveys show that 25 percent of all Americans believe that aliens have landed on earth.

In *Faces Of The Visitors*, Kevin Randle and Russ Eassey describe,

sketch, and rate the credibility of sightings of over 100 different kinds of alien beings, from reptoids and insectoids to humanoid, indistinguishable from you or me, to scary Brad Pitt-like "Nordics." Whatever their appearance, most of the aliens are sexual predators; there is even a Midwestern support group for those raped by reptoids.

What we don't have, though, are *Paranoids*. In fact, there are no photographs, videotapes, or instead evidence to prove that any of these Odds exist. Some of David Jacobs's patients (he has studied hypnosis and done over 700 "hypnotic interviews" with abductees) have set up video cameras in their bedrooms to film nightly abductions, but the cameras seem to fall down or break or show the patients getting up at night and turning them off.

Alien invasion is only one of the many conspiracy theories and apocalyptic scenarios that constitute what the novelist Don DeLillo calls "millennial hysteria." Believers can hitch their scenarios to a multitude of alleged apocalyptic "signs" — AIDS, the breakdown of the family, the Internet, Lubliner's Hissidic Jews interpreted the Gulf War as a sign of the imminent appearance of the Messiah, Egyptians, as The Washington Post recently reported, interpreted the death of Princess Diana as a British-Israeli conspiracy designed to keep Jews from marrying a Muslim. But, warn Thomas Robbins and Susan Palmer in the introduction to their excellent *Millennium, Messiahs, And Mayhem*, apocalyptic thinking may become dangerous when actual events appear markedly convergent with the anticipated scenarios of zealots.

The recent rise of 70 touristia in Egypt is partly the result of widespread cultural support of xenophobic conspiracy theories. The contributors to *Millennium, Messiahs, And Mayhem* analyze contemporary religious and secular apocalyptic movements from the Mormons to Waco and Aum Shinrikyo. The book's central theme is the convergence of millennialist movements. Prophecies are useful because they enhance the charismatic authority and power of the leader, bind the followers together, and make leaving the group seem risky. Paradoxically, even "failed prophecy" or "apparent prophetic failure" can unify millennialist groups. David C. Broder notes that "apocalyptic intensity can be



maintained through predictions that are imminent but indeterminate, which then necessitates and legitimizes a constant state of readiness." No amount of counter-evidence, testimony by scientific panels, or contradictory hypotheses can shake these firmly held beliefs and, as such, they are self-reinforcing. In fact, as anthropologists of religion have demonstrated, disconfirmed prophecy leads to intensified faith and proselytizing, as believers seek "dissonance reduction" through disclaimers, rationalizations, and self-congratulation that their faith has saved them.

With regard to the alien invasion stories, anthropologists have also analyzed the role of folklore, myth, and media in the construction of narrative. In *UFO Crash At Roswell*, cultural anthropologists Benson Saler and Charles A. Ziegler, along with atmospheric physicist Charles B. Moore, trace the process by which the belief that a manned fly-

ing saucer had landed in New Mexico in 1947 became a contemporary "technomyth" expressing "government sentiment." The authors offer a useful vocabulary and terminology for understanding the formation of myth, in a "process of transfiguration that involved successive retellings in which some of the historically recorded events were retained, some were distorted or repressed, and entirely new elements were inserted."

Most important, the authors argue, when tales move from the oral to the written tradition, the process by which narrators rationalize internal contradictions and implausibilities accelerates. When tales are written down, "personal legends" are collected and edited, they increasingly conform to prevailing narrative concepts, introduce elements of fantasy, intensify relations of dominance and subjugation, play down the shocking and

unpleasant, transmute subplots, and rationalize discrepancies. All of these elements are present in David Jacobs's retelling of the stories he heard in interviews with women. They are stories of displaced sexual desire, romantic fantasy, and reproductive ambivalence. Many have had hysterectomies and been told of alien insemination and being forced to conceive an alien child. Could it be that they are mourning lost fertility, fertility and sexuality? Although they sometimes express distress at their rapes, and at feelings of sexual abuse, the aspects of frightening forced sex and alien child are played down, and the emotional satisfactions played up.

Synthesized in a sort of apocalyptic vision of The Times, a self-entitled "The Women's Urgent Needs for Love, sexual attention, and adventure,"

Turkey's Islamists assert their identity

Nicola Pope in Kayseri

THE leaders of the pro-Islamist Welfare party, in Kocaeli, one of the two districts of the Anatolian city of Kayseri, were meeting, as they do every Tuesday, to discuss local politics, exchange news about new developments in their neighbourhoods, and prepare for the local elections that are due to take place in early May.

All 24 men were aware that their party would probably be headed by the constitutional court before their next weekly meeting (the ban was announced on January 16), but they were happy to discuss their views. They all felt that they had a mission to fulfill and that their work would be a challenge.

"We all know each other," said Selahattin Yılmaz, president of Welfare's provincial organisation. "We are a complete team of our members. Meetings will continue, but elsewhere."

Since 1954, Kayseri, in eastern Turkey, has had an Islamist majority. Karapınar, He was sent to prison for a year in October 1995 for his declared reluctance to take part in this year's elec-

tion to mark the 60th anniversary of the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of Turkey's secular republic. Welfare, which has 93,000 members in the province, controls the three municipalities of Kayseri, which has 1 million inhabitants. It got 32 per cent of the province's vote in the 1995 general election.

Kayseri is a quiet, prosperous city, with broad avenues and clean pavements. It has rapidly become industrialised in recent years thanks to the efforts of entrepreneurs nicknamed "the tigers of Anatolia", who proudly describe themselves as conservative, religious and nationalist.

"In big cities like Istanbul and Ankara, there is a more cosmopolitan elite that has forgotten its traditions. We are closer to our roots, to the culture and religion of Anatolia," says Mustafa Tekeli, head of Welfare's association of Muslim businessmen. "This affirmation of identity, which secular Turkey sees as contrary to the modernity preached by Atatürk, along with commercial competition, has been a major factor in the city's growth. Established in cities for decades, has caused tensions between the local

Muslim community and the secularist central authorities.

Yet the Muslims of Kayseri apparently care more to maintain the Republican religious right in the United States than with Iranian revolutionaries; and they say they are loyal to the regime. "We're democratic Muslims, but we want our way of thinking to be respected," says Tekeli.

"They do not reject the West — where they do business — but are determined not to sacrifice their own customs in exchange for a culture imported mainly from Europe and the US."

One person who has been especially trying to change Welfare's reactionary image is Nevai Akur, the first woman admitted to the party's executive in the province. "People think we take orders from men," she says angrily. "If I had been regarded as second class by virtue of being a woman, I wouldn't have stayed more than half an hour in the party. Welfare is the only party where women are respected and regularly consulted."

New kind of the women's wing of the party, which includes 25,000 voluntary workers, Akur, is con-

vinced women have a key role to play within the movement that will not be changed by the banning of Welfare.

Welfare's networks are probably well-structured and disciplined enough to withstand the constitutional court's ban. Despite their efforts to maintain a dialogue, Welfare and the city council do not enjoy the support of the whole population of Kayseri. Secularists are convinced the party wants to introduce a religious regime. "I work for the council, but I don't like them," says one young man. "They sell their land to their supporters and want to overthrow the regime."

Some conservative Muslims are irritated by Welfare's political activism. "I always used to practise my religion without any problem," says Turan, a carpet dealer. "Now, because of them, all believers face a tense situation."

It is obvious, however, that government institutions will find it difficult to impose the official ideology and in particular the concept of secularism, on the inhabitants of this booming city. As Akur says: "We can ban the party, but they won't be able to change people's ideas."

(January 18-19)

Indonesia needs new leadership

EDITORIAL

THREE countries caught up in the turmoil that has hit the economies of the East Asia — Indonesia, Thailand and South Korea — have received massive help from the International Monetary Fund. Of the three, Indonesia is the poorest and most shaky.

In both Thailand and South Korea, a clear determination to overcome the economic crisis has been shown by newly elected governments which have been judged by voters to be best equipped to do so.

The situation in Indonesia is radically different. President Suharto holds personal power and is propped up by institutions tailored to his purposes. It was only after much persuasion that he pledged to get to grips with the crisis.

On January 20 it was announced that, at the age of 71, Suharto intends to stand for a seventh term as president. He will doubtless be re-elected on March 10 by Indonesia's lame People's Consultative Assembly.

It is difficult to see how the country will benefit from his re-election. After all those years during which he abdicated his responsibilities, is he really the right man to put an end to the monopolies, cartels and interests he represented?

It would be an oversimplification to contend that Suharto has rendered no services to his country. When, in the late 1950s, he took control of the sprawling archipelago, which had been torn apart by a bloodbath and was teetering on the brink of bankruptcy and anarchy, he started by putting the nation back on its feet.

In the course of his six presidential terms, however, Indonesia's steady growth has been increasingly accompanied by rampant nepotism, corruption and privilege. The country's hide-bound institutions have become less receptive to the demands of the underprivileged and the emerging urban middle class. The opposition has been sidelined. Accumulated frustration has led to several outbreaks of violence. Public opinion — no longer believes the government to be capable of reforming its ways.

So far Suharto has blithely dismissed all criticism. By signing the IMF's second rescue plan on January 15, he made it clear he was going to handle the economic recovery himself.

But his programme contains no political reforms. The country's ills are political rather than economic. The Indonesians could do with a blast of fresh air. There is dire need for a new leadership — one without any connection to the business world, of the kind that has emerged in Thailand and South Korea. One thing is almost clear: Suharto has had his day.

(January 21)

John Co. 116

Spectacular view of the Nile

Robert Boile

THE department of Egyptian antiquities at the Louvre in Paris contains one of the finest collections of its kind in the world. It has just been given an ambitious and extensive facelift that allows a greater number of its 30,000-plus items to be exhibited than before. The new design espouses the educational approach adopted by Jean-François Champollion (1790-1833), curator of the Louvre's original Egyptian museum, which opened in 1826.

It is widely believed that the Louvre's first Egyptian treasures were brought back from the Nile Valley by Napoleon's Commission of Sciences and Arts at the end of the 18th century. This is not true; the members of the commission who accompanied the eastern army left Egypt virtually empty-handed. Most of their trophies had been confiscated by the British, among them the celebrated Rosetta Stone, which ended up in the British Museum.

It was Champollion who provided the royal museum's Egyptian department with its first collections a quarter of a century later. The museum opened officially on May 15, 1826, in an atmosphere of Egyptomania. Champollion had achieved

the extraordinary feat of deciphering the hieroglyphs of the Rosetta Stone, thus giving a voice to a civilization that had remained mute for 1,500 years.

The Egyptian department — which contained a few statues and objects from old royal collections — got off to a flying start thanks to 2,150 items from the Darnel collection, which was acquired in 1824. These included amulets, figurines, jewelry, vases, sarcophagi and some fine stela.

That same year France allowed a magnificent treasure trove to slip through its hands — the collection of the French consul in Egypt, Bernardino Drovetti, which had been bought by the King of Saxony and moved to Turin. Louis XVIII had thought it too expensive. In those days, antique-collecting consuls were able to hire teams of excavators to comb Egyptian sites with the blessing of the local authorities.

In 1826 Champollion discovered in Livorno, Italy, the collection of Henry Salt, the British consul in Egypt, which contained 4,000 items, including the great Tanis sphinx, the statue of Amenhotep IV, and the pink granite sarcophagus of Ramses III.

He immediately wrote to Charles X to persuade him to buy the collection. This time the king said yes. Permission was also given to acquire the second Drovetti collection, which consisted of 500 items, including a colossal effigy of Ramses II and some gold masterpieces.

Champollion had deciphered the hieroglyphs, but had not yet visited Egypt. He eventually went there in 1828 at the head of a Franco-Tuscan mission. The several months that he spent in Egypt were extremely fruitful, and he returned with some exceptional objects, such as the statue of Xerxes and the sarcophagus of the priest Jedor, which he promptly added to "his" museum. The museum had unfortunately been given a Greco-Roman

decor, and it was too late to change anything. The Egyptian department of the Louvre was nevertheless revolutionary in its design: Champollion wanted not just to create an art museum, but to recreate every aspect of Egyptian civilization. So, along with the deities and kings, he displayed meticulously classified objects from everyday life, both public and private.

Champollion died young, in 1832, leaving the science of Egyptology rudderless. The museum entered a long period of lethargy. It was not until the mid-19th century that it received new acquisitions, such as the 2,800 pieces from the Clot Bey collection and the treasures of the Serapeum. In Memphis brought back by Auguste Mariette.

MARIETTE, a humble employee of the Louvre who became passionately interested in Egypt, was dispatched to the Nile Valley to bring back Coptic manuscripts. "I didn't find any manuscripts," he said afterwards. "I didn't draw up the inventory of any library. But, stone by stone, I brought back a temple."

He had unearthed the Serapeum, a huge complex buried in the sand. Within the space of two years, some 6,000 items found their way into the Louvre. They included the famous seated Scribe and the monumental Apis Bull.

While many pieces were given exit visas from Egypt, others were smuggled to Paris by travelers who went to fill their pockets at Saqqara. That did not stop Mariette becoming an implacable defender of the Egyptian heritage a few years later, when he was appointed director of antiquities in Cairo.

During the second half of the 19th century, finds were shared out between the teams of excavators and the Egyptian state. The Louvre benefited greatly from this arrangement thanks to the work of scholars such as Gaston Maspero, which Gaston Maspero founded in 1880, and



Senyeferr and his wife, in the Louvre collection

which later became the French Institute of Archaeology. In the twenties Egypt became aware of the exceptional wealth of its heritage and began to allow only a trickle of items to leave the country. That policy was implemented by the Frenchmen who successively headed the antiquities department in Cairo.

The Louvre collection continued to increase in two ways. It received state-owned objects, such as some of the Egyptian coins in the Cabinet des Médailles in 1907, and the Musée Guimet's Egyptian treasures in 1946.

The Louvre also received private donations, some of them very large. Louis Alberton and Ingeborg Curtis, for example, gave it 1,500

items of value, including the sphinx Princess Nefertiti. Egypt has made a generous donation in 1970 — the colossal bust of Amenhotep IV — to thank France for its help in salvaging the Nubian monuments.

Were Champollion alive today, he would certainly have difficulty recognizing "his" museum. It given the considerable enlargement of the collection (which has risen from 9,000 pieces to more than 30,000), the improvement of its exhibition rooms and above all, the clear intention to make it coherent and instructive ensemble of the department's latest transformations. It would be unlikely to feel he has been betrayed.

(December 20)

Le Monde

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CLAUDE LORAIN
February 1, 1986

EU's Third World trade partners face testing times

Charlotte Denney

FOR more than 20 years a group of former European colonies, from the Caribbean and the Pacific to the Middle East, have benefited from a trade deal giving them preferential access to European Union markets. But the Lomé Convention, negotiated during the 1970s when many European countries felt a residual sense of responsibility towards their former colonies, is being renegotiated in a climate which is much less sympathetic to special deals for poor countries.

Lomé's rules do not accord with those of the World Trade Organization, which now runs global trade negotiations. The WTO's first principle is that countries should deal with each other on an even-handed basis that is, no special deals.

Caribbean banana exporters who depend on favourable access to European markets were the first to feel the chill winds of the new world order when they came through the process of renegotiation with favourable access intact. The WTO allows "special and different" treatment of the poorest countries.

Reports suggest the farmers in the Windward Isles have got the

message about diversification and global competition. Some have chosen to diversify into marijuana, which will not please the United States, the dollar being growers' banker in the WTO case.

Lomé has always had its critics. It has failed to help members diversify their export markets and increase their share of European trade; some of the poorest nations are also excluded.

The 71 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries collectively as ACP states party to Lomé are divided along 20-year-old guidelines, somewhat arbitrarily, into "least-developed" and "non least-developed". Western Samoa is counted as "least-developed" despite having a per capita income nearly two-and-a-half times greater than China, which does not qualify as a "least-developed" nation.

These distinctions matter. The 41 "least-developed" Lomé member states will probably come through the process of renegotiation with favourable access intact. The WTO allows "special and different" treatment of the poorest countries. The heads of the European Commission faces is what to do about the 39 countries who are classified as "not

least-developed" but which nevertheless contain nearly 70 million people living below the global poverty line.

The commission's initial proposal is that ACP countries form free-trade areas with Europe that could be regulated under existing WTO rules. This would allow the EU to continue to offer these countries lower tariffs — but the catch is that in return they would have to open up their markets to European companies.

This would be a disaster, according to Phil Bloomer, senior policy analyst for Oxfam. Competitive European companies would be pitted against fragile infant industries in the ACP countries. Worse, their agricultural sector would be competing with Europe's subsidy-blinded farmers. The adjustment costs of exposing these countries' economies to competition from Europe would be huge, even with the maximum 10-year phasing-in time allowed by the WTO.

Britain — which holds the EU presidency during the period in which the union must agree its negotiating mandate for Lomé — has a chance to secure a better deal for the ACP countries. Oxfam believes Europe should

opt for a waiver under WTO rules, allowing the Lomé convention to continue for another 10 years. By 2010, other multilateral agreements will have eroded the value of many of Lomé's preferences anyway.

In the intervening decade, Europe should concentrate on helping its ACP partners to develop the capacity to compete more effectively through technology transfers and investment in education. Once they are ready to deal with the world as a more even footing, it could be time to reconsider building some reciprocal trade agreements. But not before then.

THE Paris Club, whose members include the UK, the US and most major European countries, announced last week that it would not lend its rules on debt forgiveness to come up with the extra \$50 million needed to get Mozambique's debts down to a sustainable level. However, it did agree on an 80 per cent cut in the club's rules.

ACP agencies denounced the decision, saying it threatened the future of the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative. Many of the 20 or so countries on the list for debt relief will require debt forgiveness in excess of the 80 per cent rule.

In Brief

COMPAQ continued its drive to become one of the world's top computer makers when it unveiled an agreed \$9.6 billion takeover of Digital Equipment Corporation in the industry's biggest deal to date. It will create a group with combined turnover of nearly \$38 billion, placing it fifth behind Hewlett-Packard.

TWO top government officials in Japan were arrested for accepting lavish entertainment from banks in return for tipping them about inspections.

HONG KONG'S Cathay Pacific Airways asked 760 staff, 5 per cent of its workforce, because of the Asian crisis.

BRITAIN'S poorer regions are under fire from the European Commission for accepting proposals from Brussels — because the country's unemployment rate is too low. Meanwhile figures released by the Office for National Statistics show that growth in the UK economy slowed to 0.5 per cent in the final quarter of 1997.

THE UK is to carry out a six-month inquiry into Britain's semi-independent offshore tax havens of Jersey, Guernsey and the Isle of Man in an attempt to tackle money laundering and financial crime, the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, revealed.

MORE than \$660 million was wiped off the New York market value of EMI, the music group whose artists include the Rolling Stones and Tina Turner, after it was reported that the group had \$40 million below expectations.

FIDELITY Brokerage Services, the UK retail stockholding arm of the world's largest fund manager, is to close following an "extensive strategic review". The deal affects 250 jobs and about 15,000 clients.

LAND-ROVER is to create 400 jobs at its Solihull plant on top of the 300 announced last year, to boost production of its half four-wheel-drive vehicle, the Freelander.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Monday rates January 27	Monday rates January 30
Australia	2.4714-2.4747	2.4681-2.4683
Canada	30.86-30.86	31.12-31.12
Denmark	81.10-81.20	81.84-82.04
France	2.0012-2.0026	2.0006-2.0010
Germany	11.30-11.31	11.43-11.44
Italy	9.803-9.803	9.803-9.803
Japan	9.8084-9.8086	9.8087-9.8089
Hong Kong	12.84-12.85	12.86-12.87
India	1.782-1.782	1.7806-1.7807
Indonesia	2.028-2.028	2.028-2.028
Netherlands	206.17-206.45	210.65-210.88
New Zealand	3.3428-3.3480	3.384-3.3873
Sweden	2.8286-2.8288	2.7498-2.7748
Switzerland	12.31-12.32	12.30-12.30
Portugal	203.56-203.61	206.96-207.34
Spain	161.86-161.88	164.48-164.80
South Africa	13.15-13.15	13.18-13.17
South Korea	2.0082-2.0113	2.0082-2.0082
USA	1.0995-1.0999	1.0992-1.0992
EU	1.0047-1.0055	1.0171-1.0166

FTSE100 Index: 4,000.00. DAX: 4,000.00. Nikkei: 15,000.00. Hang Seng: 15,000.00. ASX: 15,000.00. S&P 500: 15,000.00. FTSE100: 4,000.00. DAX: 4,000.00. Nikkei: 15,000.00. Hang Seng: 15,000.00. ASX: 15,000.00. S&P 500: 15,000.00.

Pharaohs seen in the best possible light

Frédéric Edelmann and Emmanuel de Roux on the new design of the Louvre's Egyptian section

THE people who designed the initial Egyptian rooms of the Louvre, with their grey friezes and gloomy painted ceilings, did not worry their heads too much about juxtaposing Ancient Egyptian and French aesthetics. Today, however, it would seem incongruous to place the effigy of a pharaoh beneath a Louis XIV paneled ceiling. Matters are further complicated when it becomes necessary not only to exhibit major works from a civilization completely different from France's own, but to preserve the history of a museum that is more than 100 years old, and to respect the building's former function as a royal palace.

Those were the problems that faced the architect Dominique Brard, Olivier Leras and Marc Quelen — who designed the Louvre's new rooms devoted to the Egypt of

the Pharaohs. The route that visitors take through the Egyptian section begins with the statue of a kneeling Nakhthorib, viceroy of the 20th dynasty (about 595-589 BC), on the ground floor. They continue ascending along the south aisle of the Pavillon des Arts, turn left along the east wing, go up to the first floor and finally in the direction they came without ever retracing their steps. By the end, they will have visited 30 rooms and looked at 5,000 works produced by four millennia of civilization.

The department's curators, headed by Christiane Ziegler, were delighted to get 60 per cent more space. But the architects had somehow to "fit in" with several different types of décor and architecture.

The Egyptian department, as they found it, began with rooms that were redesigned in 1930 and continued with a section where a celebrated pair of architects, Pierre-François Fontaine and Claude Pons, had recently completed a section and complemented some "historic" but disparate woodwork in the early 19th century.

The department ended with

the original Egyptian museum created by Jean-François Champollion, begun with the statue of a kneeling Nakhthorib, viceroy of the 20th dynasty (about 595-589 BC), on the ground floor. They continue ascending along the south aisle of the Pavillon des Arts, turn left along the east wing, go up to the first floor and finally in the direction they came without ever retracing their steps. By the end, they will have visited 30 rooms and looked at 5,000 works produced by four millennia of civilization.

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The department ended with

brightly lit spaces lined with recessed displays of archaeological objects that tell us a lot about Egyptian civilization while at the same time being a pleasure on the eye.

The centrepiece of such thematic group — the Nile, work in the fields, writing, the house, hold, etc. — consists of a major work that reinforces the theme. Sometimes it is hard to differentiate between the "flagship" object and the more modest, purely illustrative exhibit.

In the chronological section upstairs, in each room, the curators and architects juggle with such concepts as elegance, rarity and balance. The sheer amount of objects intentionally crammed into showcases gives a strong impression of wealth and power.

A highly distinctive feature of Egyptian art is that much of the sculpture, whatever its size or purpose, has a very marked architectural dimension. The statuary, whether it is a granite colossus or a funerary statue, whether it depicts Osiris or Ramses, is always on the verge of blending with the design of the museum, except when it is allowed to reverberate on the same wavelength.

The curators point out that the society of their layout was "dictated" by the very nature of Egyptian art, whose meaning and force need to be served by the architecture. The new museum of the Louvre cannot easily achieve an aesthetic of that kind, and the curators are aware of this.

At times, though, there is a clear intention to make a coherent and instructive ensemble of the department's latest transformations. It would be unlikely to feel he has been betrayed.

(December 20)

Will Brown dip into his crock of gold?

Larry Elliott considers the Chancellor's options in this upcoming Budget

THE number of truly memorable Budgets this century can be counted on the fingers of one hand. There was Lloyd George's Budget of 1909, Churchill's fiscal decision to return to the gold standard in 1925, Hugh Boscawen's budget in 1947 and Geoffrey Howe's squeeze in 1981.

But Gordon Brown's Budget on St Patrick's Day is still an important one in the political calendar. The Chancellor has many cards stacked in his favour: the fiscal position is strong, Labour has a huge majority and the start of a parliament — the conditions for structural reform.

There is one other factor. With the Bank of England now setting interest rates, the Chancellor is able to devote all of his considerable energy to thinking of ways to use fiscal policy to pursue macroeconomic goals. There will be no rearguard action where monetary policy is concerned.

It is perhaps easier to start by saying what it will not look like. At the moment, there will be no real attempt to use the Budget as an instrument of demand management, since the new orthodoxy is that the macroeconomic effect of fiscal policy is limited. There will be no rearguard action where monetary policy is concerned.

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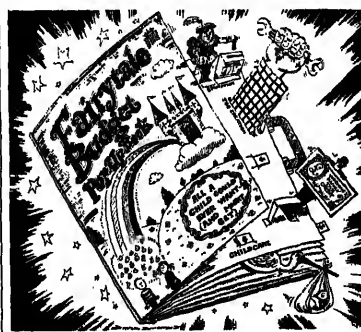
of explaining to the public why healthy public finances will be used in the coming years to pay off the national debt, rather than to keep spending on the public sector. On even gloomy assumptions about growth, the Government's budgetary position is astoundingly strong.

Mr Brown's argument is that debt interest payments are crowding out other spending, representing an implied tax increase for the next generation of taxpayers — and are thus a betrayal of our children. But the projections are for the GDP/debt ratio to fall, so that is unlikely to cut much.

So, point two would have to be a commitment to spend more on education — not only because it is the Government's priority but because, at a time of economic failure and high lights the role of the public sector where the private sector has failed.

A team of 20 Treasury officials have been set up to look at the extent of the problem for the past two months, and ways of injecting funds into random areas are being explored. Senior government sources say they are working towards a "comprehensive strategy" to dovetail with the action plans offered in the New Deal for the unemployed. Strictly speaking, the action zones are part of the comprehensive spending review, but the Chancellor is aware that there is a link. Will some of it happen? Quite probably, if the Government means what it says about tackling poverty at source. But the real question, of course, is whether this package — or a similar one — would do any good. It may be that handing over monetary policy to the Bank of England at a time of global deflation will prove to be 1925 revisited. But at least there are some good ideas floating around in the Treasury, and they might just work.

The fourth leg of the strategy is the introduction of the Working Families Tax Credit (WFTC). This will be the most significant tax reform of the Budget, Mr Brown believes. It is a decision to bring the labour market is not static but dynamic, and that help via pay packets will improve both take-up and incentives. He argues that helping the



based on helping communities as well as individuals; stresses that the root cause of poverty is not individual but economic failure and highlights the role of the public sector where the private sector has failed.

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Johnnie Walker

Letter from Namibia Margaret Bradley

Boxing clever

WHEN Nina and Frederick sang about "little boxes just the same" it's not a first of fear or despair that many of us. We lived in one little box, paid a mortgage for it all our lives, and finished up in another box when we died. Little boxes meant endless years of dull work, of drab social conformity, penny-pinching, nosy neighbours, a circumscribed life... but little boxes meant something else in Namibia today.

New Lego-style buildings made up of hundreds of little, grey boxes have sprung up next to every post office — but the citizens are far from being appalled. They are so delighted that they have turned out in droves to get one. Why? Because the keys to these little boxes don't lock us away from each other; they open the doors to communication.

Communications are and have always been on people's minds in Namibia. The population, at only 1.5 million, is small, but the country is vast, and the terrain is demanding. Along half of the 1,600km of coastal desert the highest dunes in the world roll into the South Atlantic Ocean; over the rest an arid gravel plain stretches to the horizon. The Portuguese, who arrived by sea at the end of the 15th century, took one look at what seemed to them like hell on earth, and left for more fertile lands.

The next group of visitors — mostly traders and missionaries — waited more than 300 years before forging their way into the scrub savannah heartlands via the Cape. They carried their goods in wagons drawn by 20 oxen under a scorching sun. Once across the Orange river, their constant preoccupation must have been water, since the next perennial river was 1,600km away.

Emma Sarah Hahn, the wife of a German missionary, wrote in the 1840s of her yearning for news from her family. Relations had often been torn, married or buried for a year before a letter arrived. Priests, travellers or traders passing through carried letters on journeys taking months as they stopped to preach or do business on the way.

The coming of German settlers in late 19th century saw a formalisation of the postal system. Early photographs showed indigenous people in their traditional dress made of cow hides topped by a German postman's hat. With a canvas

bag over their shoulders, they ran the eight-day journey between Windhoek and the coast with one change of relay at Omlingene.

Even though the settlers suffered from delay, they did eventually learn the a-z. The conquered peoples were not so lucky. While the women and children, the old and the sick were confined to "home-lands" — some of which they had never before occupied and most of which were incapable of supporting the populations assigned to them — the imposition of taxes forced the men to take up contracts as miners, labourers and agricultural workers hundreds of kilometres from home. Unable to read or write and with no communication systems in place for them, their ignorance of family affairs was total, their loneliness and misery complete.

Eventually roads and railways were constructed. The first was a wagon road from the interior to Walvis Bay, built by a great indigenous leader, Jan Jonker. With no technology of any kind he cleared the route of the tumbled boulders that dot the scrub savannah. If he had realised what misfortunes befalling travel for while adventures would bring his people, he might have had second thoughts.

Later, metalled roads and regularly graded gravel paths made travel easier — if you were white. Passes had been introduced to control movements of indigenous people. Arguing was said to be the best way of bringing people together as to keep them close, as troops and armoured personnel carriers pounded northward to the west, where Swapo was fighting for independence.

Telephone calls too. In the southern and central areas where the settlers lived, the system was constantly updated. Elsewhere it remained an overloaded manual system which broke down when it rained.

So how do the little grey boxes aid communications? In a country where it is not possible to have a postman going from door to door, the boxes help to keep isolated and separated people in touch. Post office boxes where people can collect their mail take the place of letter boxes in the doors.

Now more people are literate than ever before. "Little boxes just the same" mean hope, excitement and expanding horizons, not gloom and depression, in Namibia.

A Country Diary

Phil Gates

DURHAM UNIVERSITY, botanical gardens: A warm breeze swept up the garden and leaves and carried them skywards in a whirling wind devil, to the top of the cypress on the conifer lawn. The mild start to the year has brought a spring to the garden, two months early. Snowdrops are in flower, honeybees have been seen in the bell-shaped flowers and frogs have come out of hibernation. The rhododendron *dauricum* in the peat garden, which almost always pays a penalty in frost-bitten flowers for its precocious flowering, is covered with a mass of immaculate deep pink flowers carried on bare twigs. Swelling willow catkins are be-

ginning to force their way out from under their bud and a marionette house acacia in the air is an aethered part of the garden and which hushes are on the verge of flowering.

There is always an uneasiness of the year with a false spring — a hint of a new certainty that we will pay for the spring and the summer but for now the gardeners have taken advantage of a break in the wet weather to prepare a site for a new planting of a collection of ornamental cherry species.

They've chosen a spot sheltered from the winds by birches and tall beeches, where the cherries will be planted around a central flower bed. The petals will fall straight to earth and sit in a pink pool under the trunks in spring.



Water falls 35m into the River Dee from the from the Pontcysyllte Aqueduct after the plug was removed at the start of a restoration programme. The Grade I listed aqueduct, the biggest and highest in Britain, was built by Thomas Telford as part of a plan to link Liverpool to Bristol.

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

HOW fast would I have to travel to avoid being captured by a speed camera?

AS FAST as the law allows. — *Angus Lawless, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire*

SPEED cameras, or radar guns, work on the Doppler principle. As the electromagnetic wave/particles (photons) reflected from the moving vehicle have a lower or higher frequency, depending on direction and velocity relative to the observing radar gun.

If the questioner travelled at the velocity of light, the photons would be unable to catch up with him, and thus could not be reflected back to the receiver, and no speed would be recorded. But to achieve this velocity would require infinite energy expenditure, and is therefore impossible for material objects.

If his velocity of approach to the camera were near to that of light, the frequency of each reflected photon would be so high that its own energy, by Planck's Law, would be sufficient to destroy the camera, and hence the evidence. — *Richard Harvey, Salisbury, Wiltshire*

IN THIS modern age of miracle synthetic materials, why can't someone come up with a wide, screen-wiper blade that does not crease when the screen is dry?

WINDSCREEN wipers are in fact designed to squeak when the screen is dry, in order to remind us that it is bad for the wipers and the glass to operate them in this condition. The friction between the wiper and the dry glass, aggravated by road dust and dirt, wears both away. — *Walter Ogden, Kalamazoo, Michigan, USA*

WHAT were the social effects in the 19th century of opium in China and hashish in Egypt? How were these mass addictions stopped — or weren't they?

THE social effects of opium in China and hashish in Egypt were that the Chinese population were deteriorated, and much so that the growing of the opium poppy, the production, distribution and smoking of opium was prohibited by imperial decree. The imperial government largely succeeded in preventing the production and distribution of Chinese opium but it was not able to stop people smoking it.

The Chinese demand for opium was supplied by British traders from India. By the 1830s more than 25,000 chests (each containing 60-70 kilograms) were smuggled into China each year. In 1839 the Chinese sent Lin Xeu to special commissioner to Canton, the centre of the opium trade, to enforce prohibition. He ordered the surrender of all opium stocks and imprisoned the British merchants in their factories. Lin's actions precipitated the first Anglo-Chinese war, or first opium war. — *John Davies, Department of History, Liverpool Hope University*

IS IT better to be intelligent or well-educated?

THE Labour MP Dennis Skinner once remarked of a fellow (public-school educated) MP: "The honourable gentleman is obviously educated beyond his intellect." — *Pete Campbell, Bath*

UNAR Prospector is the first civilian moon mission for 25 years. How many military warplanes have there been, and what have they been doing? — *Felix Taylor-Cooby, Canterbury, Kent*

WHY can't we all just live like each other? — *Cath Beatt, Hong Kong*

I HAVE a number of prize-winning London street traders, published in 1815. Among them is a vendor of "Birmingham Bells". The basket is closed, so I have no idea what these might be. Do any anyone know? — *Robin Denton, London*

WHY is the Star of David sometimes found on a Hindu temple? — *Ben Napier, London*

Answers should be e-mailed to weird@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 01753 44171 or 242-0665, or sent by post to The Guardian, 2, Bedford Way, London EC1A 3JF. The Notes & Queries website is at <http://nq.guardian.co.uk/>.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 1 1998

Leaks that turned into a flood of complaints

A baby suffering chronic digestive disorder and extreme distress is suing the makers of her mother's breast implant. Banned in the US, silicone implants are still used in Britain despite widespread concern. Sarah Boseley reports

THE British pin-up Melinda Messenger is just one of the many glamour models who have had boob jobs. We all know that some of the most expensive changes in show business have been pumped up beyond their natural cup size with a breast implant. We all saviour at the surgeon's art. What's the harm?

The thought that new-born babies might suckle silicone through their mother's nipple comes like a bucket of cold water on all the fun. The debate over the safety of silicone gel implants has taken a new turn in Britain with the granting of legal aid to Danni (Danielle) Bowler, now 21 months old, to sue an unidentified foreign company. And there are at least 50 more children like her.

Danni's mother, Mary Bowler, aged 26, had a silicone gel implant in January 1993 because one of her breasts had never developed. Her was one of the 40 per cent of infants carried out for medical reasons, not vanity, by the time she had her operation, almost all gel-filled implants had been banned by the United States Food and Drug Administration for nearly a year. They were kept in Britain despite two reviews of the medical evidence — another is now underway.

The FDA acted because of the large number of women with implants complaining that they had become ill and because the manufacturers, Dow Corning, had not proved the implants were safe. In the US, the law on the makers to provide positive proof.

Bowler knew none of this. "They told me I was the risk," she says. "I felt good after the operation because I had a proper chest, but then it started to go wrong." The implant leaked inside her. When she eventually had it removed, it was full of gel.

She had her first child, Jordan, now three, without any problems. "I don't breast-feed my son. We went straight to the bottle." Then just after a year, he began to regress again. "When I was seven months pregnant, I felt terribly ill. I was breathless, anemic and couldn't do much. I had chest X-rays and an ECG and liver tests."

When Danni was born, Bowler put her to the breast, having been told that the milk was the best thing for the baby's health. By then, she was worried about her implant. "I was on the delivery floor if it was safe. But I felt this very sharp pain and the implant pulling."

The problem was with the silicone-filled breast, not the other. It made Danni feel sick, and after three days she put Danni on the bottle.

Something was wrong with the milk. "She was ill from the start. She was a tiny baby and just got down food," she says. "I've got terrible headaches and chronic tiredness. He used to be very sporty, would be got tired, and he's put on weight."



Mary Bowler and her daughter Danni, whose case will be fought with legal aid

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL COLTON

soya substitute, which doctors prescribed for her. Danni has had permanent digestive problems, diarrhoea and a lot of distress. "She seemed to be afraid of something," says her mother. "Her eyes would stare wide open all the time." All the pictures of Danni as a baby are like that. She wouldn't sleep after feeding. She would scream with stomach aches and have horrible diarrhoea. First, they said she had colic, and then digestive problems. She was a paediatrician who has given her blood tests and things like that. Nothing really has come up."

Bowler believes the doctors are not looking in the right direction. "Through anti-silicone campaigners in Britain, she was put in touch with an American organisation called Children Affected by Toxic Substances (CATS). They said she has all the signs of second-generation silicone poisoning," she says.

That is the claim which may now be tested in the courts. Women like Sylvia Ball from St Helena, near Liverpool, will be watching. She has four boys, two born before and two after she had a silicone-gel implant to reconstruct her breasts. She fed her second son successfully, she says, and enjoyed it, having bottled the first.

With the third and fourth, things were different. "They screamed, they talked the talk. I think they sensed it was poison. I'm convinced silicone was coming out. I had to stop breast-feeding. They were starving."

Ball's eldest breast-fed boy has "come out great", she says, and is now at university in Wales. "He's aged 12 and Alex, 10, cause her a lot more concern. "Nicholas is presently being investigated about a growth inside his chest which he has had for the last 12 weeks," she says. "He's getting terrible headaches and chronic tiredness. He used to be very sporty, would be got tired, and he's put on weight."

The other one, Alex, can't put weight on, although he eats a lot, and I don't like the look of the dark circles he's had since birth."

Meanwhile, he persist campaign, the very wealthy Dow Chemical, has been battling fiercely against the claims of victims' lawyers that it is financially liable for any damage. In fact, it has never designed, manufactured or sold implants, although it did test the material. It had successfully kept its distance until recently, but last August it received a substantial, although not knock-out, blow during a class action of 1,800 women from London. The jury found that Dow Chemical had inadequately tested the material and covered up problems. It gave the go-ahead to a trial of whether women had suffered harm from their implants, although the judge has dismissed any continuation of a class action. The cases of eight individual women will be heard instead.

The documents from Dow Corning that have surfaced during this trial have destroyed any seed of doubt lingering in the minds of the women who believe themselves to have been poisoned by silicone. They have had a spectacular circulation, plastered all over the Internet by support groups.

Sylvia Ball is now trying desperately to raise £2,500 (\$4,200) to have her implants removed privately. On the National Health Service, she says, they do not take away the scar tissue which contains a lot of silicone from a ruptured implant.

Memos were produced in court stating that "we have no valid long-term implant data to substantiate the safety of gels for long-term implant use" (September 1993), regretting that the silicone gel envelopes were only "just good enough" (January 1976), urging medical salesmen to wash and dry the implant before demonstrating it to customers, to get rid of any silicone that might have leaked out of it (May 1975) and agreeing to dispatch faulty shipments "to any country other than US, Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand". It goes on: "They are excellent for South America, Near East, Eastern Europe, Africa and Far East" (October 1976).

Despite the confusion, the experts agree that more than half the implants do rupture, sometimes within only a few years of an operation. The silicone gel leaks out and migrates to all parts of the body. Some women find they have lumps of gel in an arm or leg.

It is not pleasant, but many scientists say it cannot be harmful because silicone is inert. Back in the forties, Japanese prostitutes were injected with industrial grade liquid silicone to develop the large breasts Americans were thought to lust after. Some died and some irreversibly damaged their health. But the medical grade silicone contained in an implant envelope has been cleared time and again of causing cancers or connective tissue diseases.

Most women complain not of such disease but of auto-immune-like disorders. The FDA lists the most common as: joint pain and swelling; skin tightness, redness or swelling; swelling of hands and feet; rash; swollen glands or lymph nodes; unusual fatigue; general aching; greater chance of getting colds, viruses and flu; unusual hair loss; memory problems; headaches; muscle weakness or burning; nausea or vomiting; and irritable bowel syndrome.

New evidence from the US suggests that all could be explained if some women react to silicone where others do. Dr Robert Garry, of Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, believes that some women have antibodies to man-made polymers in their blood. That has led to the review now taking place, led by Professor Roger Shurrock, an eminent rheumatologist from Glasgow university. Dr Garry is adamant — silicone gel implants should be banned in Britain.

The two main campaigns here, Silicone Support UK, led by Margaret Cameron, and the Survivors of Silicone, led by Elaine Coomber, are glad and hopeful, but say that even if the review results in a ban, their women are far from safe. Elaine Coomber, who says she is so ill herself that she cannot get out of bed some days, has been campaigning for three years.

A deadline was set last February for registering for a chance of compensation from Dow, but Coomber says many sufferers still do not realise why they have been ill. Coomber has hundreds of sad stories from the 4,000 women she believes have registered for possible compensation, including her own. She is 52 and had her implants when she was 29. Most years since, she has been ill. She cared about her appearance. "I had breast implants to enhance myself and now I'm in such a state that to paint my nails or have my hair done is really difficult and sometimes impossible."

Margo Camero, based in Glasgow, who was poisoned, she believes, by the liquid silicone injections she was given, says her lip in 1990, has been made milder by what she sees as the sinister cover-up by the silicone industry and others. "Nobody could tell me why I was ill," she says. She discovered the cause in the US. "When I came back, I was told I was the only person in Britain suffering this way," she says. As her American doctor had forewarned her, she went down with MS three years later. She later discovered that liquid silicone had never been authorised for injection.

"These women are all hoping that Danni Bowler, little as she is, can change perceptions in Britain. Categorical medical proof of the case against silicone gel does not yet exist, but can so many thousands of women in Britain be wrong?"

Helpless in Britain: Survivors of Silicone, tel: 01322 687044; Silicone Support Group UK, tel: 0141 8378450

Shirley

One for the gentlemen

TELEVISION
Nancy Banks-Smith

THE Truth About Women (ITV) is one of September films bumper fun tube of popcorn. They do several flavours. It is based on the premise that anyone can be entertaining for five seconds. Quick quotes are cut together as though the speakers were in the same room.

The general effect is as light and bright as a line of socks blowing on a washing line, with the occasional pair of incoherently bright blouses.

The socks were all presenters. I didn't know there was so many

presenters in the world. Some I was meeting for the first and last time. Carol McGiffin (presenter), Zof Ball (presenter), Carol Scullie and Denise Van Outen (presenters), Emma Forster, Penny Smith, Mariella Frostrup, Sara Cox and David Tennant (presenters).

Daddy, daddy, what's a presenter? A presenter, child, is someone. She is a blonde so blonde that she glows in the dark with radioactive phosphorescence. Like some strange invertebrate in the Minidano Trench. If a presenter is bright enough to be a brunette, she may be too bright for the job.

The blouses were up-front-and

at'em women, always good for an entertaining quote. Jenny Edgar gazed stage right with deceptive mildness and said, "A proper, real old-fashioned man, that's what I like. A man in a tuxedo. A man who can rescue a cat from a swollen river." If she's ever been nearer a cat than McDonald's, I'll eat a hamburger—but what a clever girl. He had to wear a tuxedo and he had to save a cat. A cat and a lamb would not have been funny. I don't know why. Trust me. I'm an audience.

Maureen Lipman had a vivid little mime of girls from Hull on the pull, and a vivid option of "Tearful: The most awful place on earth. A black island with green bananas."

Christie Hamilton, confining "Aargh! At the risk of gaining

the stereotype image I have in some people's minds, I asked Neil to marry me—or rather I told him we were getting married.

Jilly Goolden: "Find a man with a narrow heel because it's easier in childhood." Vanessa Feltz: "As my mother was expelling the phantasies, she was dreaming about what she would wear at the wedding. (This may lead some to suppose Vanessa burst into the world before her mother had nailed her father's foot to the floor. No, no, Vanessa's wedding.)

Sharon Osbourne, Ozzy's wife and manager: "I love old Mrs Bob." A turn of phrase that somehow reintroduced the little chopper-chopper from Ecuador as an old dear from Camberley Green.

This programme, the first of five, was on love and sex. "Sex and love is like bacon and eggs. You can have bacon and eggs, or you can have a bacon sandwich, or you can have a omelette," said Zak Keir, who seems to have done a good deal of research on the subject.

My favourites were Zulu Rhodes, languidly reclined on a sofa, rich rags and swags, and David Bishop, festooned with children. Her youngest is called Babydoll because her husband is called Baby Doll. She lives three kilometres away and that suits Terrie fine.

"We got a bull in his baby's ear," he said. "I've got 'em all the time at my bum," she said. "They're under your armpits, don't they? They do."

The bouncy bluesman

OBITUARY
Junior Wells

JUNIOR WELLS, the blues singer and harmonica player who has died from lymphoma aged 63, once protested, "I just don't understand how you can play good music and stand still. That was a problem I had the first time I went to Europe. I got booed in Germany, because I was moving around and playing. They wanted to see me like Sonny Jones Eddy, where you get a chair and sit down and play. I can't play that way!"

Remember Wells on stage in London at the 1966 American Folk Blues Festival, a small crowd in black silk zinging round the stage like a Chinese juggler. A young woman next to me, subdued by the sober, introverted blues of earlier performers on the bill and plainly wondering if the whole evening would be that hard going, visibly cheered up at Wells's sudden input of hot-pepper sexuality.

For about two decades Wells and Buddy Guy were the fiercest and most famous partnership in modern blues. They had met, as so many Chicago bluesmen did, in the orbit of Muddy Waters. Wells had grown up in Vidalia, Mississippi. "My father... I still knew about was shooing people," he told the writer Paul Tynan. "He was in a plantation in... I can't recall the name, and I don't remember want to recall it no more anyway."

Rather than have to do farm work he was sent to his mother in Chicago, where he began hanging around older bluesmen such as Tampa Red. By his mid-teens he was playing regularly with the gutbucket Dave and Louis Myers as the Three Deuces (later Aces).

Wells was sent to his mother in Chicago, where he began hanging around older bluesmen such as Tampa Red. By his mid-teens he was playing regularly with the gutbucket Dave and Louis Myers as the Three Deuces (later Aces).

Wells, a small, coiled spring in black silk zinging round the stage

At 18 he grabbed the city's premier harmonica job, replacing Little Walter in the Muddy Waters band. Less than two years later, however, he passed the gig on to James Cotton so that, like Little Walter before him, he could promote his own career, which had recently been accelerated by his startling first recordings such as Hoodoo Man.

Wells was already revealing a distinctive harmonica tone, and on subsequent records such as Come On In This House and Money Jones Eddy, where you get a chair and sit down and play. I can't play that way!"

Things that moved as bluesmen embraced by the beautiful people Wells and Guy, who began working together regularly after collaborating on Wells's 1965 album Hoodoo Man Blues, were booked at hippie and campus venues, toured as support act for the Rolling Stones and recorded several albums each for the folk label Vanguard.

By the 1970s they were huge hitters, featured in films and on TV. In their interplay on stage they were at times as artful as Astaire and Rogers, though on unadorned evenings they were more like Laurel and Hardy.

After several quiet years Wells started recording in the early 1990s, and in 1996 produced the vinyl recording On the Loose. In This House, Seasoned admirers, preparing to greet it as his best album for more than 20 years, suddenly realised that apart from his collaborations with Guy he had let almost 20 years go by without recording very much at all.

In part that was because he had deliberately put public performance before recording, but it also hints at his artistic conservatism. Through a dramatic harmonica-blower and an effective interpreter of other people's songs, he was that curious and uncommon figure, a blues singer who had no story of his own to tell.

Junior Wells, blues musician, born December 9, 1934; died January 16, 1998



No trouble at all... Hockney with his painting of Suite III

Total recall

ART
Alfred Hockney

DAVID HOCKNEY'S interest in landscape generally extends no further than cruising through the Hollywood Hills with Pauline on the car stereo. A reflective exhibition rooted in his response to his native environment seemed about as probable as Constable switching haywains for swimming pools.

Last summer, however, the artist found himself having to occupy himself during the final stages of a close friend's cancer. Jonathan Silver's magnificent Hockney collection at Salts Mill, Saltaire, had drawn the artist to spend an increasing amount of time in his native Yorkshire, so it is fitting that Silver's final request should have been for Hockney to paint the local landscape, the light and the mill itself.

Hockney has made two important migrations in his career, switching from Bradford for evening London before forming England altogether and heading for Hollywood. The current exhibition at Salts suggests that in spirit he's never really been away.

The transatlantic imprint in his work is indelible these days, of course. He may have come back from California to re-examine rural Yorkshire, but he has brought the light with him. If you are looking for topographical postcard shots of

pleasant vistas, then forget it. Hockney has painted the landscape of his recent life, not the landscape of his childhood. The problem will not be that it produces tricks and illusions—things seen bigger, brighter, more condensed than they actually are, Hockney's Yorkshire is the golden, radiant temple to creativity and commerce.

It is only towards the end of the sequence that the energy fades and the artist's sense of the world as a rolling world in true perspective turns to a flat, unrelenting sea. The final few paintings are painted in a more direct, less lyrical style, the colour less certain, the greenery in the point of withering. It has the feel of a painting that is a search in search of a subject, an anti-landscape in which there is nothing to see.

Alternatively you could say that it is a very bad painting. None the less, these six pictures grouped together, distantly from the circumstances in which they were produced. They could prove to be the most poignant things Hockney has ever painted.

The Local Paintings are landscapes that are equally abstract. The one clear exception is the centrepiece of the exhibition, a painting of the mill that Hockney and Jonathan Silver re-created. Silver asked Hockney to convey a sense of how big the mill is, and to do this by painting it bigger, Salts glows in the picture—as it does these days in real life—the golden, radiant temple to creativity and commerce.

Four years ago Salts Mill housed the premiere of Hockney's new Paintings, a sequence of abstract whirls and scrolls painted with vigorous abandon that seemed, in essence, like so much hallucinogenic wallpaper. The paintings were full of scribbly little dots, hatchings and disappearing curves. Look at the collection of Yorkshire landscapes and there they are again, except the dots are now haystacks in the fields where Hockney used to work during his years as a boy. The Very New Paintings were a group of abstracts that could have been, landscapes.

Local Views By Local Artist For A Local Land is at Salts Mill, Saltaire, West Yorkshire, till April

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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Waving, not drowning

CINEMA
Richard Williams

IF YOU'RE going to spend \$250 million on a film, your first duty is to put the dollars on the screen. Then you have to give the audience a better reason to make it an investment. Forget that bit and you're sunk.

With Titanic, James Cameron admirably fulfils the first part of his duty. From how to steer his huge ship matches the physical grandeur of the subject. We are thrilled by our first glimpse of the ship, and later unreservedly astonished by the reconstruction of its terrible fate. But at the other end of the scale, in the human dimension, the director's judgment is less easy to

in my experience of cinema-going, Titanic's ratio of expenditure to expectation has been matched only by the 1959 version of Ben-Hur, which cost \$15 million, and Casablanca, with three times that budget four years later. For all the admiration of the famous chariot race, the smouldering glances of Ingrid and Burton, both films come curiously undermanned.

Though Ben-Hur won the Oscar for best picture, a fate which Titanic can only dream of.

Cameron, who also wrote the screenplay, shows his shrewd understanding of the dangers in various ways. By taking care to sustain a sense of spectacle throughout the film, by finding a way of establishing a relationship with our own lives, and by acknowledging that a film with a greater budget of \$200 million better find itself a story can be of balance and humanise the spectacle that surrounds it.

Cameron begins the tale in the present day, with a group of treasure hunters using hi-tech submarine technology to excavate the bulk of the wreck to rest two-and-a-half miles below the surface of the Atlantic.

He then, clear April night in 1912, before the start of a legendary romance, but what they find is a sketch of a young girl, one Rose DeWitt Bukater, wearing nothing but a nightgown in question. Soon Rose, now 30 years old, arrives by helicopter to join them through her eyes (she is played in this incarnation by Gloria Stuart) we travel back to the ship as it is about to be hit.

As the great ship leaves its dock in Southampton, setting off on its

midnight voyage, Cameron uses all his technical trickery to present frame after frame composed like wonderful modern paintings. Lit by a pale sun, the clean lines and elegant angles ravish the eye while the contrast of a vast, dark bulk with dolphins, fishing boats and even with the town itself inspires a proper awe.

The young Rose (Kate Winslet) is on board, accompanied by her mother (Frances Fisher), her fiancé, the textile heir Cal Hockley (Billy Zane), and his English manservant, Spicer Lovejoy (David Warner). "To me it was a slave ship," Rose tells us, "taking one back to America in chains." We are in no doubt that it will be a marriage of convenience, necessitated by her late father's legacy of bad debts.

This makes the presence in her luggage of original canvases by Monet, Degas and Picasso (Les Femmes d'Alger, no less) a bit of a puzzle. A gift from her intended?

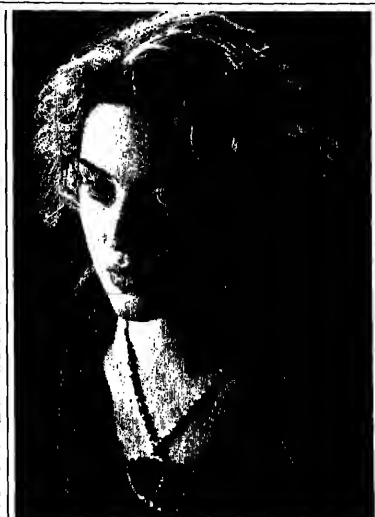
Hardly. Somebody Picasso, Hockley surely when invited to identify the painter of the Femmes, "He'll never amount to anything."

Poor Zane, playing his usual blackboarded bassinet, gets away with a script that seldom pauses to consider the alternative to a cliché.

Rose glimpses on alternative to this arrogant nabob in the urinal form Jack Dawson (Leonardo DiCaprio), who springs to the rescue when she is considering ending it all by jumping off the ship. Cameron's casting of DiCaprio is surely the real key to the film's commercial success, and there is no denying that some ingenuity has been put into the recreation of his character: a poor but gifted boy from Wisconsin, Dawson is also on his way home. Weary of sketching prospects in Montreal, he won a third-class ticket during a dice game the night before the ship was hit.

More than 1,500 died when the ship broke in half and sank. With enormous and devastating flash, Cameron shows us death by drowning among those trapped in the lower decks, by impact as finger-holds loosen when the stern runs up on its end, and by hypothermia in the ocean during the two month hours between the disappearance of the bulk and the arrival of the first rescuers. The effect will be reduced for some only by his fashionable and childish insistence on portraying precisely all the English characters as snobs, cowards or cretins, and everyone else—with the exception of Hockley and Rose's mother—as pure of soul and spirit.

But Titanic is, in the end, and despite being prohibited to those under 12 years old, a film for children of all ages, for those ready to gasp at a parade of wonder and sugar to be swept away. For those, in other words, who won't come out scratching their heads and wondering how those girls from Wisconsin made it to New York after all, and an eventual home at the Museum of Modern Art.



Flawed farduchend: Winslet fails through a lack of verisimilitude

girl. And she is—sorry to have to say this, but there's no other way to put it—too heavily to be convincing either as her mother's daughter or as someone Dawson would fall for. He, on the other hand, is plausible enough to drive Hockley to vile revenge.

This somewhat basic contradiction recedes when, after an hour or so, the ship hits the iceberg. Cameron has cleverly prepared us by getting the treasure-hunters to show the old Rose their own fascinating computer-generated reconstruction of the collision and its effect, thus allowing the director to give us a more impressive (although still incredibly executed) account of the event.

Thereafter the action is unrelenting as the ship's fate becomes apparent and panic grows. Inadequate lifeboats are half-filled with first-class passengers and launched to safety while the bulk in sternage are held back by locked gates. Meanwhile Hockley and Dawson can only fight for the right to rescue the girl, to the plucky serenade of a Palm Court orchestra.

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Dreams of England

THEATRE
Michael Billington

LOSING my way some years ago in a picturesque Venetian backwater, I asked a friendly local for help. "You from London?" he inquired. When I told him that I was, his eyes lit up and he uttered, with pure hapstrophic joy, a cry of "Ah, the magic of Golden Green!"

That memory came back to me as I was watching Phyllis Nagy's *Never Land*, jointly presented by The Foundry and the Royal Court in London: for one of Nagy's many theses in this rich, dense, if somewhat over-written, play is that we constantly fantasise about other countries (most of them, I suspect, in the south of France, not only dreams of becoming a Bristol bookseller and imagining that the white hot drinks with his perfume factory boss is tea, but forces his family and guests to act out classic scenes from *Pamela Tovey*).

In part, Nagy is dealing with the sustaining nature of myth. Henri, a nervous, puny-stricken figure who says he's never all around him, places the white hot drinks with his perfume factory boss is tea, but forces his family and guests to act out classic scenes from *Pamela Tovey*.

But Nagy is clearly writing about much more than the Englishman's romantic vision of England. And nothing in the play is crueler—or more plausible—than the scene in which the wife of the bookshop owner who has offered Henri a job slanders his dream with a gushing, fondly ironic eulogy.

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A cutting wit amid the melodrama

CINEMA
Andrew Clements

STEPHEN SODENHEIM to Sweeney Todd via a 1980s play of the original gothic to Victorian melodrama, which is precisely the world David McVicar and Andrew Clements have created in this new touring production.

Now North is the first opera to be produced in Britain to take on the story of Sweeney Todd, a tale of a barber who turns to murder in London. It is a story of a man who is driven to madness by the loss of his wife and child, and who is eventually brought back to life by the love of a woman who has been his secret lover.

a constant supply of raw materials, it juxtaposes wit and humour with gruesome realism. Vale provides a thoughtful and dramatically effective set—a giant wheel to suggest the industrialisation that was sweeping the class war in 19th century London and a one-up, two-down shop front for Sweeney's salon and Mrs Lovett's bakehouse.

McVicar sustains the broadening menace with a production that instates mysterious presences and mute observers even when the characters seem to never fail to produce the laughs from Sondheim's constantly adroit wordplay. The balance between humour and horrific eeriness that lies at the heart of Sondheim's score is beautifully

caught in the macabre domesticity of the central couple—Todd projected by Steven Page with a compelling mixture of venal greed and moral fervour. Mrs Lovett brought to life by Beverly Klein as a predatory monster who recognises the barber's vulnerability from the start.

The chorus, setting the scene with the Ballad of Sweeney Todd, play a crucial role, even though their words are too often buried, and they provide a gallery of working-class life that sets all the protagonists in sharp relief.

Only Karl Diamond disappoints as Sweeney's madly misanthropic Anthony, and sounds tentative between humour and horrific eeriness that lies at the heart of Sondheim's score is beautifully

Johnnie

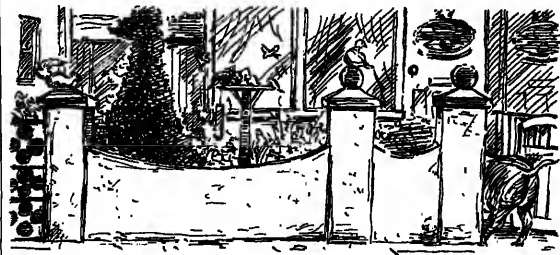


ILLUSTRATION: BARRY LARSON

Pig haven in back gardens

Paul Evans

TELEVISION, radio and newspapers in Britain were recently much taken by the story of two pigs that escaped from an abattoir. The pigs, dubbed the Tamworth Two because they were of the ginger-haired Tamworth breed, managed to escape from the slaughter, burrow under a fence, swim a flooded river, hide in gardens and evade capture by both the authorities and journalists for several days. They were rewarded with celebrity status, offers of safekeeping and assurances that their bid for freedom had earned them the right not to be turned into bacon.

Two pigs on the run for so long, hiding in gardens while in the full glare of the media spotlight, is remarkable. But gardens are great places for animals that want to be left in peace. And as we make deeper inroads into the countryside, more wild animals are forced to turn to gardens for sanctuary.

This is happening with the deer, whose numbers have been growing while their woodland habitat has been declining. They are being pushed into suburban gardens in northern English towns, where concern about the spread of Lyme dis-

ease, traffic accidents and garden damage is already leading to the inevitable calls for culling the deer. But we are not yet at the same point as North American cities where, as in Cincinnati, white-tailed deer are hunted in suburban backyards by people with crossbows. Nor do we have urban coyotes hunting cats, as they do in Washington State.

The British Trust for Ornithology released the findings of its Garden Bird Feeding Survey at the end of last year. The survey has been running for 27 years, based on observations of birds in 247 gardens in the country, as well as in suburban and urban areas. The results show that suburban gardens now record a wider range of species than country ones, thanks to harmful agricultural practices. Species such as the long-tailed tit and goldfinch are new to the suburbs, and the trend for more garden birds to seek refuge in urban and suburban gardens is continuing.

However, most animal garden fugitives are much smaller than pigs, deer, coyotes or birds. For those with a transponder's propensity for species lists, gardens can be the creature railway stations of nature. In 1988 Peter Moltz designed and

planted a naturalistic garden, based on a wide range of habitats, in Walsingham, in arable countryside 40km southeast of the German town of Nuremberg. Eight years later he counted 700 animal species in the garden. This included 23 per cent of all European breeding birds, 17 per cent of butterfly species, 15 per cent of coccinellid (ladybird) beetles, 18 per cent of wasps, 28 per cent of dragonflies and so on.

Remarkably, one in eight of these species is listed in the Red Data Book of endangered animals in Bavaria. Moltz believes that the true figure for species using his garden — these not yet recorded or just passing through — is likely to be around 3,000.

In Britain, Jennifer Owen's garden in Leicester has almost 1,800 recorded animal taxa. Although she insists that her garden is "nothing special, just a bit more overgrown and lush than most", Dr Owen has recorded new species, particularly of parasitic ichneumonid wasps, that are unknown in England outside her garden. Is the presence of rare species a result of Dr Owen's special management of her garden? "Not at all," she says, "it's because nobody looks hard enough." Good news for garden fugitives everywhere.

Chess Leonard Barden

DECEMBER'S Fide knock-out world championship at Groningen was the setting for an impressive British success, while the Russians and Americans were eclipsed. Michael Adams beat Nigel Short 4-3 in an epic semi-final where both missed wins, then Adams drew eight times with the world number three Visly Anand before going down 4-5 after a five-minute blitz game in which he missed a clear chance (see this week's puzzle below). Anand then went on to the Olympic Museum at Lausanne to challenge Anatoly Karpov, who was unfairly given a special seeding, for the Fide title.

Karpov won the match 5-3 and may meet Garry Kasparov in a unifying title match later this year.

Earlier at Groningen, it looked like the familiar tale of ex-Soviet domination as their players took 12 of the last 16 places. But the Russian phalanx was wiped out by the semi-finalists. In this game, Short needed to win to stay alive in a two-game mini-match, and a responded with the most elegant win of the championship.

Short-Belyavsky

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bb5 a6 4 Bx4 Nf6 5 0-0 Be7 6 Re1 b5 7 Bc2 Qc7 8 Qd2 Qd8 9 Bb3 Karpov used to play this solid formation, inviting 10 Ng5 Rb8 11 Nf3 with repetition. It was he was suddenly drawn at a weaker opening, so it's a sensible choice in this game.

10 e4 Bb7 11 Nbd2 Bb8 12 Bb5 White forgets the tension by 13 a4 h4 13 Be2 e4d4 14 e5 Nf4 15 Bb1 Nf6 13 Nf4 Nbd7 14 N3b2

White's plan is N3g4 and if N3g4 is followed by e5, N3f3, g3, Kf2, Rh1 and there is the BK5. So Black now tries to free his congested Q-side, but with his queen up the light squares for White's

bishops and knights with deadly effect later in the game.

c6 15 dxc6 Bxc6 16 Bg5 Qc7 17 Qc3 Qc7 18 Ng5 d5 19 Ng4 dxc4 20 Qf5 Nd5 Black has a gling. Ng4 allows mate in two while if Be7 21 Nf5 21 Nf5 Nf6 22 Rad1 h5 17 Ra2 23 Rd3 Qd8 Re1 and RQ3 White 24 Nf4 25 Nd6 Nc6 26 Bb3 Nf6 27 Ng6 28 Rxc6+ and mates.

23 Ne3 Nf4 Hoping for 24 Bc2 Bc6 trapping the queen, but Short has seen much further. 24 Bc4 Bxc4 25 Rxd7 Bxf1 26 Qxd7 26 Qxc4 attacks both black rooks. 28 Rxb7 e4 27 Rxf7 Reagles. A thematic final 16 White's pawns on the central white squares. If Kc7 28 Na5 or b6 28 Rb5 or 28 Rb4 Bc7 Rxf7 gains decisive material.

No 2608



Visly Anand vs Michael Adams, 8th game, Groningen 1997. After 10 hours of play and eight draws, they were playing a sudden-death, five-minute game. Adams (Black), to move had a rocky start and, now, with his queen attacked, went 1... Qc5 2 Qc1 Qc7 3 Qa5 Bbd 4 Qd3 Qa5 5 Rxc3 White's queen Anand's passed c6 pawn proved too strong. What did Black do during this sequence?

No 2607: 1... R3 2 Rf1 Rg3 3 Qx1 Qxc5 4 Be6 Bb5 5 Qxd2 and White won with his extra knight.

Rugby Union Telly's Bitter Cup fifth round: Bath 17 Richmond 29 (aet; 14-14 at 80 minutes)

Bath bitter pill for Brive encounter

Robert Armstrong

BATH began the countdown to the Heineken European Cup final against Brive in a sombre mood after losing out of the Telly's Bitter for a second time. The score was 17-29, a bitter pill for the Bath players.

Robinson promised he would not shrink tough decisions on team selection for the most important match in the club's history, but the Bath coach must be aware of the changes at this stage in the season.

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"Our main problems were ball retention and sustaining the pace for 80 minutes," admitted Robinson. "Richmond read our game well and regularly crossed the gainline through their big runners. Scott Quinnell and Roberto Martin made the hard yards and it was easy for their guys to score. We are bitterly disappointed and we have some serious talking to do."

No player will come back to haunt Bath more than the Richmond lock Craig Gilchrist, released by Bath in 1996, who was in their early autumn. He towered above the line-out, time and again intercepting the Bath throw-in by Mark Regan and delivering a steady supply of good ball which allowed Richmond to patch damaging holes through the back row or the mid-field where Allan Bateman was always on red alert.

Bath also struggled to lay hands on the Richmond wings Jim Filton, another former Bath player, and Dominic Chapman, whose elusive skills must have impressed the England coach Clive Woodward, Ireland and England have both invited Chapman to attend squad sessions.

After Adeyade Adeyade streaked home from near halfway for a first try, Filton, with help from Chapman, held off an Iwan Evans tackle soon after the interval to put his side 14-8 ahead.

Late on, Mike Catt profited from heavy Bath pressure, kicking two short-range penalty goals which prevented the opposition playing back when opening up the game themselves. Wasps saw off Pridie 34-8 and Newcastle beat Worcester 10-0. There were also easy victories for West Hartlepool, Northampton, London Irish and Sale.

In their international against Italy at Treviso, Scotland twice blew a nine-point lead to go down 25-21.

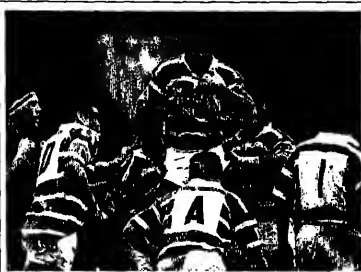
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Holding the high ground: Leicester's Fritz van Heerden rises to the occasion to collect during a line-out against Saracens. PHOTO: RICHARD BAKER

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SPORT 31

Tennis Australian Open

Rusedski serves up dire fare

Stephen Bierley in Melbourne

THE rain came too late for Greg Rusedski. Last Sunday's play at the Australian Open, after a fierce overnight electrical storm and residual drizzle, was reduced to a mere six matches, all on the Centre Court with its roof closed.

In effect the tournament became an indoor event, which might have suited the British No 1 extremely well against Australia's Todd Woodbridge. Rusedski's two victories over him had both been indoors, where the balls fly quicker and the courts are slicker.

As it was, the retractable roof was wide open for their third-round match last Saturday. But slushers of a different kind closed in over Rusedski. Seeded No 5, he was the main man left in his quarter of the draw and appeared to have a glorious opportunity of reaching the semi-finals. But he lost 7-5, 6-4, 6-2, and without in the least doing himself justice.

His coach, Tony Pickard, could find no satisfactory reason for Rusedski's sudden loss of form. "He said it was not nerves, but it has happened twice now, here and in Doha. It did not happen during the indoor season."

But the shock of the tournament was the defeat of the world No 1 and defending champion, Pete Sampras, who had appeared invulnerable despite a sore back. He had beaten the Moroccan left-hander Hlasek Amr in straight sets to reach the quarter-finals. Simple.

But he met the Slovakian Karol Kucera, ranked 20 in the world, who continued an amazing run of 14 wins out of 15 matches on Australian soil by breaking Sampras's opening serve and going on to win four sets, 6-4, 6-2, 6-7, 6-3.

Sampras denied Petr Korda, who beat him in the US Open last year, the opportunity of a return match in the semi-finals after Korda came back from two weeks down to beat the No 4 seed, Jonas Bjorkman of Sweden.

Only two women's matches were played last Sunday, with the seeded Venus Williams striding through her fourth-round match against Patty Schnyder of Switzerland 6-4, 6-1. Williams was then beaten by a far less Australian Lindsay Davenport, the No 2 seed, in three sets — 1-6, 7-5, 6-3.

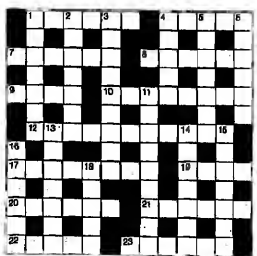
In the semi-finals Davenport was due to meet Spain's Conchita Martinez, who beat France's Sandrine Testud in straight sets. The defending champion Martina Hingis and Mary Pierce were to meet in the quarter-finals with the winner due to play either Arantxa Sanchez Vicario or Anke Huber of Germany.

However, none of the women's matches had the intensity of the weekend clash of the teenagers, when the Russian Anna Kournikova, aged 16, fought long and hard before losing 6-4, 4-6, 6-4 to Hingis.

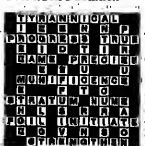
Quick crossword no. 403

Across

- 1 Titm — tree (6)
- 4 Passage (6)
- 7 Column (6)
- 8 College grounds (6)
- 9 Volcano (4)
- 10 Beach (6)
- 12 Worsen (11)
- 17 Outcast (6)
- 18 Carlin (4)
- 20 Silver — vango (6)
- 21 Elaborate (6)
- 22 Fairhair (6)
- 23 Sanctuary (6)



Last week's solution



Bridge Zia Mahmood

THE past month has seen two tournaments, most recently the Macallan International Pairs Championship, which was played at the White Horse Hotel in London's Regents Park.

With young lions such as Norway's Gerd Helgemo threatening the captain's throne around the club guard (andly, that includes me these days) decided to fight back. Before the Macallan, I played in the Cap Gemini tournament in Holland with Tony Forrester; at the Macallan I paired his long-time partner in the British team, Andrew Roberts.

Their styles are very different, but equally effective — Forrester is a natural player, quick-thinking and highly aggressive, while Roberts is more deliberate and relies on superb technique.

Apart from hoping to do well with both of them, I announced to both that I will finally resolve the question of which is the better player.

My theory was that if I played my normal erratic game with each of them, our results in the two tournaments would be an answer enough. Over the next cou-

ple of weeks, I'll let you know what happened!

Tony is well known for his forceful personality (some might say aggressive), but in one way or another he always leaves his mark on the opponents. This is a recent example. At game all, Tony picked up this hand:

Q 63 K A K 9 7 6 5 4 3 4 None

What would be your opening bid as dealer?

I imagine that most of you would choose the straight-forward four hearts, though some might select one heart or a semi-nothing strong two hearts. Nothing so mundane for Forrester, who panicked!

This is not as silly as it seems — it's the kind of manoeuvre that can often earn a swing. Someone is bound to have a heart, and the fact that there's almost certain to be a lot of distribution around, and the opponents may misjudge the bridge world more terrible than Forrester's expression after he had just made a redoubled contract.

North

K 54
8
K J 82
7 6 4 3

West
A 10
J 2
A 10 8
A K 10 9 8

South
Q 63
K A K 9 7 6 5 4 3 4
None

South West North East
Pass NT Pass Pass
4♥ Dblc Pass Pass
Rblc Pass Pass

West opened with a strong no-trump, and when the passed hand on his right led to four hearts, he must have thought that four hearts must have arrived. But four hearts is a decided made with an overbid.

West learned two painful lessons. First, before expertising because, in the second, there are few safe bids in the bridge world more terrible than Forrester's expression after he had just made a redoubled contract.

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Clough accused of taking backhanders

THE Football Association have brought charges against Brian Clough, Ronnie Fenton, Steve Burrows and Nottingham Forest in connection with the inquiry into irregular payments, or "bungs", its long-winded verdict came more than four years after the probe was commissioned by the Premier League which made public the resulting report's recommendations last year. The FA took legal advice before deciding on taking action.

Clough, the former Forest manager, was accused of pocketing part of a £76,000 backhand from the transfer of Anthony Loughlan and Neil Yarns from Leicester United to Forest in 1989. He denied the charge and said he was taking legal advice.

Fenton, Clough's former assistant manager at Forest, was charged with the same offence, was charged with the same offence, was charged with the same offence.

Burrows, the former Arsenal chief scout, now at Queens Park Rangers, was charged with accepting £55,000 bungs from the transfer of John Jensen from Bradford to Arsenal in 1992. Forest themselves were charged with making payments outside FA rules and charged with misconduct in failing to supervise their employees properly. All the accused were given 14 days to respond to the charges before an FA disciplinary hearing.

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has made a big contribution to their rise to second place in the Allied Dunbar Premiership. He said: "It is not a decision that I made lightly. Rugby has given me more than I could ever give back."

KEVIN YATES remains in England's squad for the Five Nations Championship in spite of being suspended by Bath in the wake of car-biting allegations. Coach Clive Woodward is sticking with the 24 players he named earlier, although Yates will stay away from the squad's practice as he faces an inquiry by Bath on February 3. London Scottish's Australian star Simon Pien allegedly had part of his ear bitten off during their match with Bath last month.

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World Boxing Organisation super-middleweight title in Cardiff.

ENGLAND'S second and final match before this week's first Test against the West Indies ended miserably as a draw. The visitors, playing against West Indies A at Kingston, declared on 400-8, Messer Hussain contributing a gritty 155. The home side replied with 454 (Roland Holder 183). Mike Atherton's declaration at 181 for four to the second innings brought an early finish to the match with England 147 ahead.

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Clough, the former Forest manager, was accused of pocketing part of a £76,000 backhand from the transfer of Anthony Loughlan and Neil Yarns from Leicester United to Forest in 1989. He denied the charge and said he was taking legal advice.

Fenton, Clough's former assistant manager at Forest, was charged with the same offence, was charged with the same offence, was charged with the same offence.

Burrows, the former Arsenal chief scout, now at Queens Park Rangers, was charged with accepting £55,000 bungs from the transfer of John Jensen from Bradford to Arsenal in 1992. Forest themselves were charged with making payments outside FA rules and charged with misconduct in failing to supervise their employees properly. All the accused were given 14 days to respond to the charges before an FA disciplinary hearing.

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has made a big contribution to their rise to second place in the Allied Dunbar Premiership. He said: "It is not a decision that I made lightly. Rugby has given me more than I could ever give back."

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FOOTBALL RESULTS

FA CUP: Fourth round: Aston Villa v WBA 0-0; Birmingham v Sheff Wed 1-0; Reading v Wolves 1-0; Coventry v Plymouth 2-0; Crystal Palace v Luton 0-0; Huddersfield v Walsley 1-0; Swindon v Shrewsbury 1-0; Ipswich v Barnet 1-0; Lincoln v Notts 0-0; Mansfield v Grimsby 1-0; Millwall v Southend 0-0.

FA CUP: Fifth round: Aston Villa v WBA 0-0; Birmingham v Sheff Wed 1-0; Reading v Wolves 1-0; Coventry v Plymouth 2-0; Crystal Palace v Luton 0-0; Huddersfield v Walsley 1-0; Swindon v Shrewsbury 1-0; Ipswich v Barnet 1-0; Lincoln v Notts 0-0; Mansfield v Grimsby 1-0; Millwall v Southend 0-0.

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FA CUP: Eighth round: Aston Villa v WBA 0-0; Birmingham v Sheff Wed 1-0; Reading v Wolves 1-0; Coventry v